

WHY BRITAIN PROSPERS

By

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THE RIGHT BOOK CLUB

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TO
CECIL LAITTA
DIED DEC. 26TH, 1937
WITH WHOM I MADE MY FIRST
JOURNEY OUTSIDE EUROPE

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TOLERATION

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PART I—TOLERATION

“What should they know of England, who only England know?”

RUDYARD KIPLING.

The English Flag.

Travellers ne’er did lie
“Though fools at home condemn ’em.”

SHAKESPEARE,

“The Tempest” (Antonio),
Act 3, Scene III.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SINCE 1934, all the leading men of Germany have come together once a year at Nuremberg; with them have come nearly half a million ardent supporters. For a week they tell each other, and they tell the world, what a great and rising nation they are building. Still more important is the fact that they tell over sixty million Germans what they are supposed to stand for in this ever changing world.

The Italians have done the same thing for about fourteen years, and the Russians have carried out this effective form of internal propaganda for a still longer period.

The people in these countries as well as those in other parts of the world, have grown accustomed to such annual theatrical performances, and they have come to feel that any country which does not produce a similar show must be, as Japanese generals have pointed out to me, "ashamed of herself and fast degenerating."

We, in the British Empire, rather haughtily answer that we do not need such reminders of our mission in life; and that we only come together when some great national event justifies the long journeys these meetings entail. We cannot count the Imperial Conferences, for the numbers of people who attend them are never more than a few

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hundreds. We can only look to our Coronations and to our Jubilees; and that other great Democracy, the United States, has not even these excuses for a national stocktaking.

The Coronation, which almost the whole world listened to in 1937, was only the thirty-seventh Coronation since the Norman Conquest of 1066. And the Jubilee of King George V was only the third in a hundred years.

When we see the effects the last two of these great ceremonies and celebrations have had on the minds of the Empire and the impression they made in the rest of the world, we are tempted to ask, "Do we come together often enough?" Had there been no cause for a Jubilee or a Coronation, it is very debatable whether our rearmament programme would have been anything like enough to impress the world, as she badly needed impressing, that the British Empire is still powerful and still has some ideals.

Foreigners undoubtedly want to know more about our Constitution, our history, and our future. Whether they live in Totalitarian States or in Democratic countries, they still read with avidity everything that is written about the British Empire. If they can speak only a few words of English, they will flock to hear any lecturer in the English language; and taking the cue from the local professor of English, they will laugh heartily at all the jokes, whether they understand them or not.

These foreigners start off by asking what is the British Constitution? They are then answered, that the main thing about the British Constitution is that there isn't one, at least not on paper. They are told that the work of Parliament always starts off with the King's

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Speech and it is immediately explained to them that in actual fact this is not the King's speech at all. Later they go on to study the majesty of the House of Commons and are told with great dignity of the Speaker. They are then quickly informed that the Speaker is the only person in the House of Commons who hardly ever speaks. By this time the enthusiastic foreigner is a little nonplussed and he becomes still more confused when he starts to unravel the position of the British Dominions and how far the Foreign Office, in London, speaks for the Empire as a whole. It does, and it doesn't.

I have tried to explain this without much success, by the story of the Irish Tommy who was a prisoner of war in Germany. Nobody ever sent him any hampers or any presents; in desperation he wrote a letter, which he addressed to God in Heaven. In it he said: "Dear God, will you please send me ten pounds, as my relations have forgotten me and I want to buy some tobacco and other necessities." The German censors, with a sense of humour, forwarded this letter to the British War Office; the fellows at the War Office were sorry for the Tommy, and sending round the hat amongst themselves, collected three pounds. When the Irish soldier received the three pounds, he decided, being naturally polite, to write a letter of thanks to God, saying: "Dear God, Thank you very much for sending me the ten pounds, but in future would you please not send it through the War Office, as the English blighters there have pinched seven pounds!" The foreigner always thinks that the British Empire must give the full ten pounds worth of support to Europe he asks for; and he points out how Great Britain is only a few miles from the European Continent. But he forgets

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that though London may be the heart of the Empire, the vast majority of the population and of the territories of that Empire are nearly all anything from six days to six weeks away from Europe by boat. Besides, many people in the Dominions, however erroneously, think they will only give Europe a little help—and *that* out of the kindness of idealism, not because of necessity.

There are five hundred millions of people belonging to the British Empire, or to be more precise, to the British Commonwealth of Nations; and every single soul of those five hundred millions is, and will be for years to come, directly affected by what may happen to Great Britain. These people form a quarter of the world's population. It is obvious that whatever goes on inside this Empire must therefore, however indirectly, affect vitally the rest of the world. Somehow or another the world must be got to realise that Great Britain has to steer a course between the foreigner who wants Britain to meddle in every Continental crisis, and those far distant members of the Empire who, ruling their own areas, often with great difficulty though with remarkable skill, consider that the British Empire is doing her duty quite well enough for the world, by looking after and developing nearly a quarter of the world's surface and a quarter of the world's population.

Figures are however, apt to be misleading and will be used as little as possible in this book. Though it is true to say that all those five hundred millions are learning to develop some form of Democracy and to uphold ideals that are similar throughout the Empire, it would be more exact to point out that about four hundred millions of our population are Asiatics, to whom Democracy is

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something new, whilst of the sixty million Whites in the British Empire, about thirty million are busy looking after themselves; in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and Ireland. It is then left to those other thirty millions living in Great Britain to guide and educate in our ideals and traditions, many millions of Africans and about four hundred million Asiatics.

As against this, we have in Europe, lumping Communists, Fascists, and Nazis together, about two hundred millions of white people, who say that they despise and dislike our system of Government. With these people, trained now from childhood, to know what they are standing for and what they want to preach to the world, we younger Britishers will have to contend. We can show the whole world as a proof of the soundness of our form of Government, the fact that we form to-day the most prosperous group of countries in the world. In addition, we are certainly, individually, the most independent people, and no one can say that we are not all in all as modern as our European neighbours. Given these advantages, are we actually making full use of them? How many of us understand what vast possessions we have got? How many of us are really interested to know whether there is any truth in the German accusation, that we are not developing sufficiently our own Colonies? How many of us realise that those small Democracies we fondly believe worship and adore us, are actually ready to criticise and to suggest that we are not developing our Colonies as fast as we might? And that, they think, is because we have too many Colonies.

In fact, how many of us really understand what we do stand for? The thirty-seventh Coronation and the third

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Jubilee have arrived just in time to make us realise that we do stand for something very different from all the new "isms" of the Continent. But what that something is, nine-tenths of us have no idea; and if we are to contribute our share to world Peace and world development, we must understand our Empire better, our ideals better, and especially what it is we want our Government to do.

After the Great War we were all a little tired and we settled down to a period of withdrawal from European affairs. This had its historical precedent in the country, after the battles of Marlborough and after the struggle against Napoleon. We tried, as we tried a hundred years ago, to put our Empire in order and above all to put our own house in order. The leaders of our Parliamentary system have pulled us through that period and pulled us through it with flying colours. They could never have done this without the aid of our Civil Servants. But they are all human and they need support. The machine which they run, and run on the whole with immense efficiency, can only be run with full efficiency if they have the active and vital support of the younger generation in this country; and if that generation understands what it is inheriting and why its Government has behaved the way it has in recent years.

I often wished during the summer months of the Coronation year that some of the working men in England and some of the younger, fairly well-to-do men in the City, could have listened to the comments made to me by different Colonial visitors. To my mind, the most interesting man in London was a young Chief from Fiji. His grandfather was the last King of Fiji, and he ex-

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plained to me how Britain never conquered the Fijians, but that his grandfather voluntarily handed the country over to Queen Victoria because he needed the protection of Great Britain. This young man, who had been educated for eight years in New Zealand, and had been Twelfth Man for the New Zealand Cricket Eleven, was over six foot tall. He spoke perfect English, but like all Fijians, he refused to wear trousers and went around London in a sort of kilt with bare legs.

One afternoon we were walking beside the Thames, near Henley. We had just visited a well-known English country home. Our host had taken the Ratu over the bedrooms and the bathrooms, as well as the living-rooms. The Ratu had obviously been greatly impressed, and he told me that he now realised that Edgar Wallace must have "moved in those circles." This sounded an unusual remark from the grandson of a Cannibal Chief! Even a little more unexpected was his next remark, as to what had impressed him most that morning at Claridge's Hotel, where I had taken him for a drink and where he had seen detectives on duty in the hall, to protect the Polish Foreign Minister and the Royal visitors stopping there. "It showed me," said the Ratu, "that you really value human life in this country." I remembered a recent conversation with a German professor who assured me that Germans, even after a thousand years of Christianity, will quite naturally go back to their Nordic paganism; I only hoped that there on the banks of the Thames, my Fiji friend might not suddenly desire to revert to the more recent cannibalism of his great grandfather!

There was no denying this young man's real sincerity

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when he commented on the Officer's Mess where he was stopping. "Near me", he said "are people from Malaya, others from India, also Africans and men from Jamaica; none of us would ever demean ourselves to the extent of marrying any of the others' relatives; most of us would not dream of sitting down together and some of us would almost sooner die than pollute ourselves by eating or drinking the same food or from the same dishes as the others. Yet without a murmur we would each and every one of us gladly give our lives for the ideal of the British Empire." I had known this young man in Fiji and I know how great is his influence in the South Sea Islands around Fiji and in the Kingdom of Tonga, not so far away. When he left this country, he left it determined to do all in his power to support the British; for he had complete confidence that we would always support Fiji and never let that small kingdom down. Africans went away feeling the same thing, and I felt certain that if only one could get the younger generation of Britishers to go out and see our Colonies and the confidence we inspire in most of the natives, then our Colonial Office and our Foreign Office would not be embarrassed by the sentimental suggestions of such English people that we should give up some of our Colonies to buy off the Germans or the Japanese. Indeed these sentimentalists would be far more likely to take up an attitude of demanding why more is not done to help develop these areas and why money is not being poured into them instead of in loans to countries ready to repudiate them at the slightest provocation.

Several years ago, the American wife of an English Communist returning to New York, gave to friends of

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mine her first impressions of the English. She felt they had decided to rest on their laurels and in a sense to use up their capital. The problem then most worrying the country was the problem of India. She thought the English felt that they had done their bit in colonising the world, in holding India, throughout the years and in saving Europe from Germany. The English now saw the Indians becoming restless and she thought the English were unwilling to continue to guide the Indians. If India struggled for independence she could have it and nobody would stop her.

Seven years ago that feeling was prevalent and almost predominant in Great Britain and whether the Ministers of the Government felt that the 'Diehards' of the Right were justified in their criticisms of our Government of India or not, is beside the point. The Government, true to British traditions, had to cut its coat with regard to India, according to the cloth which the general predominant feeling of the country allowed to the Government. It says a great deal, for the Government, the India Office and the Indian Civil Service, that they were able to guide the Indian Empire through those several difficult years.

I was, therefore, greatly surprised by the change in the conversation of numbers of ordinary Indians, who passed through England during the summer of 1937. I am not referring to the people one might meet at big official functions and whom one could be sure would be uncritical. But I refer to the ordinary Indian tourists whom I sometimes entertained on their way through London. Thanks to the propaganda of Germany and Italy, numbers of Indians had also been visiting both

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those countries; and every single one of them came back to talk in my garden about the absolute necessity, which he had not often realised before, of keeping Great Britain in India. Her Democratic Institutions, coupled with her toleration and her traditions, seemed to these Indians the only kinds of European governmental organisations that India could stand. These visitors knew that India is nowhere near ready to govern herself and not a single one of them had any illusions, but if Great Britain went, one of the Totalitarian States or Japan would march in and dictate to India. They all admire our Government and only dread that we ourselves may one day lack interest to such an extent as to let India fall into chaos.

Australians and Canadians gave also plenty of praise for our institutions last summer; they allowed themselves to be a little more critical. After visits to the Continent they came back with several ideas which they felt the British Empire could profitably imitate. They suggested to me that the three greatest assets of the British Empire were her toleration, her trade, and above all her tradition, which seemed to cover with a cloak of respectability, every form of modern change.

For hundreds of years Great Britain and later on the Dominions, have struggled for toleration. So much do we know about it that we can fairly easily distinguish to-day between reasonable toleration and sentimental weakness. I remember a speech of Mr. Neville Chamberlain nearly ten years ago, in which he pointed out that the success of Parliamentary Government was to be found in the give and take of every day politics. He felt that there must always be certain fundamental prin-

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cipals for which a Party will stand; over and above that it is only natural that if individual members have any originality at all, they will have their own pet ideas which they want, if possible, to advance. But every one of them must be willing to forego his ambitions for the greater and more important good of keeping the Party together to advance its more vital policies. This was even more clearly put by an American business man, recently interviewed in London. He said: "In America we have eleven men on our side, and they are the Eleven Best Men. But in England your eleven men are just a 'team'."

Mr. Aldous Huxley recently pointed out in New York that the Americans needed Vitality, Prosperity and Modernity and at the moment only lacked Prosperity; these are three very necessary adjuncts to Toleration, to Trade and to Tradition. If you have toleration, it is essential that you should also have vitality. No one can say that Democratic France to-day has vitality nor can I say that my impressions of Democratic Scandinavia have left me with the feeling that there is much individual vitality there. There is vitality in Germany but certainly no toleration. •

With Trade must go Prosperity, and neither France nor the United States, nor most of the small Democracies can boast of much prosperity at the moment.

Lastly it is essential that tradition should not be too overpowering and that it should be able to blend with Modernity. The British Empire can sincerely claim that she is modern enough to-day. Her Peoples are, on the whole, as prosperous and as free as those of other countries. She has prosperity because she has not lost

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her head and the only thing she must be careful not to lose is her vitality and her capability of making quick decisions and making them more frequently.

There are open spaces throughout the Empire, which at the moment cannot be economically developed. It is possible that the Labour Camps of Great Britain could take a leaf out of the German 'book' without losing any form of toleration, and help to develop those wide spaces. We must always be ready to watch what other countries are doing and to adopt their ideas when they are proved to be worth while, no matter where they come from.

In Great Britain we must take stock of what we have been able to do; we must remember the Danish proverb, "It takes a broad back to bear prosperity". We must be thoroughly on our guard lest we ask for too much and lest we forget how much worse off many others are than ourselves. We should occasionally cast our minds back to conditions just before the National Government came into power and see how from then on our present attitude to World Affairs has developed.

It is almost exactly ten years ago, since in 1928 we began to prepare for the General Election of May, 1929. The Conservative Party had been returned to power in 1924, largely because of the incident of the Zinovieff letter. In 1935 the National Government came back to power, also largely because of a foreign issue. Ten years ago, we were satisfied as a Party, that everything was going well with this country and on the whole we had prosperity; nor were we greatly worried about foreign affairs, but the slump was beginning and the financial condition of Wall Street was frightening the City.

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To the amazement of the Party and for no apparent reason, other than that we fought the election on a "Safety First" cry, there was a complete debacle and the Conservatives were swept out of Office. Had we spent 1928 in organising our Party and in telling the country about conditions abroad and rubbing it in instead of taking it all for granted, and then had spent the first part of 1929 in working out a real fighting campaign for the future instead of an appeal for a vote of confidence to continue an unromantic straightening out of the country's troubles, we might have saved Great Britain from 1931 and the set back of that period.

Let us while we have time, glance at other nations, see what is worth while in their development, pat ourselves on the back, but not too much; and then decide, after we have told other countries about the good things that are in our own, that we in turn will tell our people how really necessary it is to wake ourselves up and look after our national health and our potential Imperial wealth.

It will not hurt us to glance for a moment at the history of those last ten years and to remember that though we were, as time has proved, far too self satisfied, we were experimenting still with a new electorate. Let us hope that in ten years we have learnt enough to make no new mistakes in the near future. I wish I was completely certain. For the future peace of the world very likely depends on how Great Britain and the United States develops in the present generation.

CHAPTER II

CRISIS—1931

MANY of us who had done political and éléctioneer-ing work up and down the country during the Parliament of 1924 to 1929, had become nervous as to what would be the outcome of a great experiment.

After the War an immense body of people had become enfranchised. During this Parliament, a further increase in the electorate gave the vote to girls, popularly called 'flappers'. There was no denying that most of these people had not got a proper understanding of international affairs; indeed it would have been a miracle had they such a knowledge. The Daily Press was not always helpful in giving them unbiased information; yet the whole of the system on which our Empire is run depended on new voters. Instinctively one felt that politics are in the bones of every Britisher and that in the long run, it would be proved that a large electorate is as capable of judging as correctly as a small electorate or oligarchy; but we had to prove it and to-day we know our toleration in those days has led to the soundness of our present position.

The Strike of 1926 did not help matters very much; it certainly showed that there was still plenty of toleration in this country, but it also showed a great deal of class hatred. From 1927 to 1929, it was my luck to try and

explain to the Borough of West Ham why the Minister of Health, now our Prime Minister, had seen fit to have the Borough deprived of its Board of Guardians whom he superseded. It seemed an impossible thing to do. The General Election of 1929 swept the Conservatives out of Office, and started a period of two years Labour Government in which we gradually went from bad to worse, along the lines of the earlier experiments in West Ham, Bedwelty and Chester-le-Street.

The country, as a whole, was willing to give the Labour Party a chance; the Labour Party, to this day, claims that since it had not got an independent majority, it could never be said to have had full liberty of action. But Great Britain is not mad, nor does it take everyone at his own valuation; the Labour Party had to be tried out before it was completely trusted, and this was eventually found to be at an appalling cost to the country.

We all know the history of what happened in 1931, and those dramatic days when the best in the Socialist Party sacrificed their political careers for the country's good, but it is worth recalling them. The Conservative Party promised to forego the most controversial legislation and even occasionally to support, what might be considered, Labour or Liberal policies. The resulting election was proof enough for the world that the British as a whole, approved of this gesture. To those who had watched the country in the previous seven years and who had kept their faith in it, in spite of violent speeches from both sides, this meant the beginning of a period of toleration which has gone on to this day and which I find almost unequalled in other countries.

Why I say it is unequalled, is because the people of

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this country have been given every opportunity to read the anti-Government press, to hear the broadcasts from foreign countries which do not like us and to listen to paid agitators from abroad, stating that the workers have been fooled from the start and that they are still being fooled, yet few of them believe it. I shall never forget the fiery sincerity of a Communist agitator standing outside a Labour Exchange in the North of England. He harangued the crowds, queued up, waiting for their dole. The police stood by and like the unemployed men, they listened and said nothing; but after a short time, no more money came through for this gentleman, from Russia. After a fortnight he was in the awful position of having to stand in the queue for a dole himself. Three weeks later, the efficiency of the Moscow pay department began again, and after a good wash and brush up, our friend started his soap box oratory once more. This time the queue laughed at him so unmercifully that he could no longer go on, and as the unemployed came into the Labour Office, they told the clerks the joke and went home reasonably contented with their lot. In what other European country could that have happened today?

It is just as well to remember, that the reason why everybody in this country pulled in his or her belt in 1931, was because we knew that foreign countries did not believe in us and had forced us into a corner by taking away their money. They were partially right, for we had probably gone on too long, giving the Socialist Party its chance; that is always the failing of toleration and countries that are intolerant are unlikely to understand it at all. We realised then that we were not independent enough in

the world, to carry out our experiments without some form of foreign support. I think the working men of this country were angered at this foreign interference and they came together with the rest of the country to show the world we could pull through.

It would be well for us to remember this when we start talking airily about the fact that Japan or Italy or Germany is economically unsound and that her people will rebel rather than suffer much longer. We did not rebel, but we put our backs to the job and suffered for some years; and that in spite of the fact that large numbers of people were telling us that it was our own Capitalists' fault. In Germany and Italy and Japan, nobody is allowed to believe that the discomforts of the people are due to anything else than the intrigues of Bolshevik Russia or greedy Britain.

On Thursday, 17th September, 1931, the Cabinet met in Downing Street, anxiously to consider the information from abroad. It was a pessimistic afternoon and there seemed no reason to believe that the growing panic on the Continent could be stemmed. The Mutiny of the Navy at Invergordon seemed to be exaggerated at every turn in every capital of the World. On Friday the 18th, the Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, thinking that things were taking a more normal course, motored down to Chequers for the weekend and a rest. In the meantime, dealings on the Stock Exchange were being far from helpful. By the time he had reached Chequers there were enough messages waiting for him there to make him decide to return to London immediately. All that evening there were comings and goings at Downing Street and the talks with Cabinet Ministers continued on

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into Saturday. Again the Prime Minister motored down to Chequers.

In the meantime the Prince of Wales had ended his holiday at Biarritz and was returning to London with General Trotter. But England, true to tradition, even in times of crisis, was fog-bound and the Prince was considerably delayed in reaching London. On Sunday he motored over from Fort Belvedere to Chequers and lunched with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. The situation seemed so serious that he cancelled his journey to Balmoral and motored back to London with the Prime Minister.

From different parts of England the Cabinet Ministers rushed back to the capital. Suddenly the leaders of the press were summoned to Downing Street. What must they have thought as they walked along that passage, covered with prints and photographs, reminiscent of the Imperial Conferences and of the days of the War. Outside the Cabinet Room on those pegs which bear no persons name, but only that of the Offices that have made history, were the hats and coats of every member of the Cabinet.

The Prime Minister told these Editors of newspapers that next morning, Great Britain would go off the Gold Standard; he pointed out that it was a National tradition not to control the press and he hoped that there would never be reason for so doing. But he left it to the newspapers of England to decide whether there would be panic next day or whether the change would be carried out smoothly. As everybody walked out, surely some must have glanced at the headings above the hat pegs before the Cabinet Room. The Minister of Health, the

President of the Board of Education, the President of the Board of Trade, the Dominions Secretary, all these the name cards of entirely modern Government posts. They were close to the Colonial Secretary, the Foreign Secretary, the Lord President of the Council and so on, titles that conjure up a great history. Perhaps also they glanced to the left at the two pillars which make it possible for the upstairs rooms to be used without the house falling down. It is true that no ball can ever be held in No. 10, Downing Street; for the house is too old and too unsafe. Surely they must have felt that their job next day was to try and smooth over this dangerous change in English policy and keep the peace of our traditional organisations, so holding the country up.

This may sound almost exaggerated, but those who were abroad at the time, like myself, saw even more clearly what was happening and what might happen, if people lost their heads. Next morning, the papers of England came out with level-headed leaders and plain statements of the fact. The Stock Exchange was closed for the day. The Monday Stock Exchange Settlement for the past Account was carried through however, as usual. In the afternoon Parliament met and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Snowden, made a restrained speech which deserves re-reading every few years by all students of politics.

He told his listeners how, during the past few months, since the middle of July over two hundred million pounds worth of gold had been withdrawn from England, and with pride he added that almost all of this had been withdrawn by foreigners. Those Englishmen unpatriotic enough to withdraw their money formed an almost

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negligible percentage of the total. During the first fortnight of September fifty million pounds had been borrowed from France and the United States; but it had all gone in the panic of foreign withdrawals. The main reason for the panic was the mutiny of the Navy at Invergordon, and this had been greatly exaggerated abroad. England could borrow no more.

The Chancellor pointed out what Germany perhaps forgets to-day, that another cause of the difficulty was that Great Britain had seventy million pounds in Germany—foreign credits—money that could not be got out. Had that seventy millions been invested in the Dominions or in the Colonies, it could have been used then and repaid later. In the Colonies it might have been used for the developments, the need for which the Germans now tell us we are neglecting, and which they say they could easily carry out had they only the Colonies themselves. They have our seventy millions.

The speech was followed by a most temperate reply from Mr. Henderson, leader of the Opposition, and it was made clear afterwards that the banks would do all in their power to prevent currency speculation.

That night Mr. Snowden broadcast a message to the nation. He warned his listeners that higher prices for goods and foods obtained from abroad, must be expected. He stressed the point that it was essential to curtail foreign travel and he assured everyone that the new cut of 10% in salaries for the sake of economy would nowhere be increased.

The reaction was immediate and favourable. People hurried home and one well-known Paris hotel refused to cash the cheque of a wealthy and frequent client. Furious

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at this insult, as she felt, to British honesty, the lady to this day has never returned to that hotel. A letter, to my mind typical of our genius for making the best of a bad job, appeared in the press. The writer, a frequent visitor to the Riviera, suggested that economies to be made by not going abroad, should be used for installing central heating and possibly better lighting and other comforts in our own country houses. This would help our unemployed. Then, he added, we might in future be more content to spend our winters in our own homes and not lay ourselves open to pinpricks and snubs from foreigners, who alas, we must meet whilst abroad.

Those few days and the exciting weeks of the General Election that followed woke England up. We had learnt our lesson. The daydreams of after the War were over, and better still the period of tuition for our new voters, seemed also to be finished.

The country took the blow wonderfully well; no country could have faced it better. But the bill for the sowing of our political wild oats had to be met. Would we, like the French, postpone the final settling day as France is still postponing it, with crisis succeeding crisis and the situation becoming daily more difficult to solve?

We decided in that General Election, with no uncertain voice, to face the music then and there and to face it all together. During the next few years we have had many further shocks and our eyes are being gradually opened to hard facts.

No one to-day will deny that the debacle in 1931, which stunned so many people and which gave birth to our present Government, was due to foreign mistrust of

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Britain's future. It proved that neither Great Britain, nor for that matter the United States, nor any other country can carry on without the good will of the world at large;—or at least cannot carry on for long. The world to-day is full of admiration at the way we pulled through without the drastic dictatorial methods found necessary in other countries. But the day we went off the Gold Standard, the feelings abroad were far different.

I witnessed one side of the reaction, in the United States. Early in September I was leading the life of an American rancher in the heart of Wyoming. The country there and the life can best be compared to the Highlands of Scotland in August and September. The owners of the ranches are usually wealthy bankers or business men from New York and Philadelphia. We all met, dressed more or less like cowboys at Rodeos, the equivalent of Highland games, where steers tossed men, rather than men tossed cabers, or else we met illicitly in the bars of the neighbourhood; for those were the days of prohibition. The newspapers, a day old, had just come in by air; people seemed to be interested in something and to be a little careful in what they said because I was about. I soon saw the news, there was crisis in England; the King had come to London from Balmoral, and stock-brokers in Wyoming knew that at that time of year, they themselves would never return to New York unless there was a very major crisis. They realised the King's journey was a serious sign. England was borrowing fifty million pounds from France and from the United States; this struck me as the worst of all. To my mind, England always lent, she was not accustomed to borrow. My friends told me that was all rubbish, but as the day wore

on and the drink flowed more freely, I realised there was a great misunderstanding and a great distrust of Britain. It all seemed to centre round the question of the Debt; the money, as Senator Borah the Republican head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, pointed out to me was only a small sum and even if we were to pay it all back, it would hardly be enough to make any very great difference to the Slump sweeping over America. But it rubbed the Americans badly, for they felt this money was being spent in Europe, either on Armaments for another war, or else on the paying of a dole to unemployed men which would soften them and degenerate their nation. Nobody seemed really sorry for England at that moment, for they still considered us the most conceited people in the world.

If things were really to be serious in Great Britain, I felt I ought not to be caught in the country, but to be in a City. I moved down to Salt Lake City, the principal town of the five Mountain States of the United States. Here I was in the heart of the Mormon country and the most important international Mormon at that moment was also there; he was Senator Smoot, the head of the Finance Committee of the Senate. There is no equivalent to his position in British politics, but it is a cross between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and possibly one of the leading Under-Secretaries at the Treasury. It was now a fortnight since the crisis had first been announced. On Sunday, September 20th, Salt Lake City was full of rumours about England. The Mutiny in the Navy had passed over this part of America like a cold douche. First people had heard of the unemployment dole in Great Britain. It seemed obvious to all good American

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Republicans, that in the end, such a dole must mean the degeneracy of Britain and finally her downfall, but obviously that would not be for many years to come.

Then came the news about the Navy. Every American and for that matter, every European and most Asiatics, have been brought up to think that Britain claims to rule the Seas, that Britain's strength is her Navy, and in fact to many, 'British' and 'Navy' mean more or less the same thing. And then came the story that there was a mutiny in the Navy; people talked of a second Russian Revolution; Senator Smoot assured me personally, that America would never allow Great Britain to break up; the United States would do all in her power to keep the British nation alive. When it had come to this in America, is it any wonder that there was panic and that millions were withdrawn as quickly as possible? This talk, they argued, of a degenerating Britain, was coming almost quicker than had been expected; and not everybody was sorry.

It was not till Monday morning that England knew she was off the Gold Standard; but in Salt Lake City, many hours behind us, Monday morning is only Sunday afternoon, and on that Sunday, the alarming rumours came through. In Chicago and in other parts of the United States, are groups of newspapers and groups of business men, who have always been openly and frankly, hostile to Great Britain. These papers made the most of the news. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, when he appealed to the press to stop panic, only appealed to the British press. From Chicago, came forth sensational headlines, 'Pillars of the Bank of England Crumbling', 'England Rushing to Her Doom', and the like. The editor of the leading paper in those Mountain States, with a wide influence

and a wide circulation, one Fitzpatrick by name, was called back from the golf links to read the news for which his paper subscribed from Chicago. But Fitzpatrick was not anti-British and he knew too what it all must mean to the hundreds of thousands of Mormons in that area, who were of British descent. He cut out the sensational headlines and put in the bare facts; but they seemed bad enough.

By next morning, I knew that my income coming from London was practically cut in half and I was still thousands of miles from home. I went to see Senator Smoot, who was kept hourly in touch with the situation, from Washington and from London. It would be difficult to describe one's feelings at that time. In a town of over a quarter of a million inhabitants, I was the only English visitor; I was a Parliamentary Candidate, and I was therefore supposed to know something of the situation.

The Senator was most accessible, I found him with his secretary in his hotel suite. He seemed to feel things in Britain had been about as bad as they could be, but that now possibly, Britain's eyes were opened and she would pull herself together. It would probably be her last chance, for the World looked on her, just then, as the sick man of Europe. He said that the British were saying they would not borrow any more money and they would rather go off the Gold Standard. "Let us face facts," remarked the Senator, "Great Britain has no credit left, she couldn't borrow another penny to-day, and I for one, would not raise a finger to lend it." This man, who was famous as the originator of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff in America, next told me about the unemployment

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situation in Great Britain, and how the dole was making our country rotten. I tried to explain to him how exaggerated all this talk had been and how much of the so-called dole was actually an unemployment insurance, but Senator Smoot had no time for splitting hairs.

It would be just as well if our Socialist leaders in this country would try and realise that foreigners have not now got the time to understand every detail about our internal life. Where it becomes necessary, whether we like it or not, for the world to have some understanding of what we are doing, it would be just as well not to split hairs, but to simplify issues and so give the foreigner the impression that we face facts and that we are not trying to bury our heads in the sand like ostriches.

Senator Smoot did not consider it a bad thing or a dishonest thing that we had gone off the Gold Standard, but he considered that we should have done so at least two months before. It would have saved us a lot of money and a good deal of worry; and it would have given the foreigner the impression that we were not afraid to face facts. He felt that as England had at last faced the question of the Gold Standard, she ought now to realise that bimetallism is essential to the world, since there is not enough gold in the world to go round. Such a help to silver would, he felt, also greatly ease the situation in India.

That evening, I was asked to meet and to address six hundred Mormons, who had themselves come from Great Britain at some earlier date. We all met in a hall, draped with Union Jacks and Stars and Stripes; large signs in different parts of the hall read 'Newcastle', 'Cardiff', 'London', and so on; the families grouped

themselves under each heading; we marched round and sang 'God Save the King', we danced and we talked together; but I avoided making a speech. All those emigrants seemed worried, but not one of them would admit, for a moment, that Great Britain was on the downward path; if anything, they felt she was about to wake herself up. One Mormon, on holiday in Salt Lake City, who had recently gone back to Norwich, after ten years absence, told me his first impression was that the English middle classes had become much more selfish or self-centred. Everyone was better off than he had been in pre-War days, and there seemed a scramble for new comforts and a determination to keep up these hard-won new standards of life. Nobody seemed to want to give away anything to anybody and less and less people wanted to have children because of the discomfort and because of the fear that they could not be brought up to the same luxuries. He felt the employed disliked the unemployed because they formed a reminder that things were not all well. Everybody from the flapper up, asked the Government for more comforts, more money, more leisure. It could not go on, felt this returned English emigrant, and he only hoped that Great Britain was finding out in time.

During the following weeks, I travelled across the Continent, on foot, in freight trains and getting lifts from other people. I learnt a great deal of the minds of the average American citizen, and it will take me many years to be convinced that the average American has got the ideas about Great Britain that we think he has. What he knows about this country is usually wrong, and is very meagre, nor was he very interested in those days.

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Great Britain was just another European foreign nation, that spoke the same language as the Americans. It was no use explaining to him that the horrors of freight train life and jungle life were impossible in England, that the unemployment insurance was a real insurance and not altogether a dole; and that the whole system of the Ministry of Labour made it impossible for such cruel hardships as were suffered by the friends I met on the road. They longed for work, they heard rumours of work at the other end of the Continent and they would go there to find literally thousands of others there before them, with nowhere to sleep and nowhere to eat. In some places in California and Nevada, I have literally had to walk across bodies, lying out, asleep on the grass, in the Market Square or in front of the railway station; men tired out and hungry and getting desperate. Nowhere could we stop for more than three days at a time, and who could find work within that limit? I have seen a man so beaten up on a railway line by his mates, that he died two days afterwards; he had boasted after drinking too much canned heat, that he had a dollar hidden in his clothes; his mates wanted it, it was a vain boast, for he had no dollar, but it cost him his life.

We used to travel in box cars and coal 'gondolas' at night; we would wrap ourselves in old newspapers to keep warm, papers we had found discarded in the car, covered in the lice of the men of the night before. There were women hoboos with us too, and to-day there are still a few wretched negroes lying in jail in Georgia, because they tried to rape one of these Poor Whites, asking for it, no doubt, as did those women I saw. Often we would be turned out in the middle of the night, and

have to run across fields, to avoid the railway police. With us were boys of sixteen and seventeen, learning the thrills of a hoboe's life. At one time the figures, and they were surely under-estimated, for in those days unemployment figures in the United States were a farce, showed over a million of these wanderers from one end of the country to the other.

It was perhaps not fair to compare the situation with that in Great Britain, but if there is such a thing as friendly propaganda, it seemed to me that there must be something terribly wrong after I had talked to young men of good height and good physique, speaking English and with English names, sitting on the top of lumber wagons, hungry and cold, at midnight. One man in all this misery, after telling me his story, was thanking God he did not live in England, or in any of those terrible European countries where the upper classes were in control and where a fellow like himself could never have a chance. His argument was very little different from that of many a wealthy American who has never visited Europe, and it must not be forgotten, in spite of all the American tourists that we see, that there are probably at least a hundred million Americans who have never crossed the Atlantic.

A few weeks later, the news came through when I was in Philadelphia, that the National Government we have with us to-day had been returned to power, with a colossal majority. Immediately, the enemies of any form of unemployment insurance put forth the rumour that this meant an end to England's sloppy Social Service. Those people in America, who were doing a wonderful work and fighting an uphill battle for the Social Services,

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looked in vain for some authoritative denial from the British. How careful a German or an Italian would be to see to it, that if one of their Government's policies were misrepresented, the truth, whether believed or not, would at least be expounded in America.

I stopped another six months in America, and in all that time, watched rather sadly how our propaganda was muddled. If, as some of us believe, Great Britain and the United States are struggling for the same results, and are working on similar lines, with the Americans better than us in some things and we better than they in others, is it not an appalling tragedy that nine-tenths of that great nation or nine-tenths of our own, have completely wrong ideas about each other? As regards the Americans, it is not altogether to be wondered at. In places like the Mountain States, where in the last fifty years no less than a hundred and eighty thousand people from Great Britain had emigrated as Mormons, and as good Mormons have bred large families, there was in that time of crisis no salaried English Consul to explain the British point of view. In German and Italian and other foreign centres of America, I always found people ready to explain every movement of their home countries. In the Eastern Cities on the Atlantic Coast, we could not complain of lack of propagandists, but were they the right types? They came out most of them as lecturers, and only about one in twenty could be called a representative of the National Government. If you take, at one end of the scale, Socialist lecturers, though they may be absolutely patriotic in what they say, you cannot expect them to get up and praise the present British Government. And at the other end are the numbers of

young society men and even of their elders, so called 'Diehards', who come out, not to lecture, but to sit and complain over the luncheon table and the dinner table. They complain of high taxes, the impossibility of getting servants, of the determination of the English working men not to work; and between them, with their titles and their charm, they give an impression which delights the enemies of Britain.

There are, of course, a few people who go to America and state the facts. The average American is however, a busy man; busy about his own affairs, and he cannot tell which side is actually telling the truth. There is nothing wrong in a propaganda of actual facts; and America knows enough about the European situation at the moment, thanks to what our Government has done within the last six years to put this country straight, that she feels Great Britain is the only country akin to her. We should have learnt our lesson in 1931 and 1933; had we taken the trouble to keep America correctly informed about ourselves there might have been far less panic at our condition. None of us know what the next few years hold for the world; we only know that there are at least some important nations who know how to do propaganda well, who have one main ambition, and that is that Great Britain and America shall not come too closely together. Let us then take a little trouble about who speaks for England to a hundred and twenty millions in the United States; our coming Trade Agreement should be a perfect jumping off ground. We have a vital battle there, and an uphill battle. When both countries need each other's help most, we will wake up and send our missions, as we did in the Great War. But

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then it may be too late, for the missions of our enemies are working to-day.

But I might add the United States could well take the trouble to have herself much better understood by the rank and file in Great Britain also.

I myself began to have grave doubts, after a year of this constant criticism of my country, so that I came home determined to see for myself how the working man felt about what looked like a new era in Great Britain. After hoboeing across the United States and at the same time meeting many of her younger business men, I got back to England in the summer of 1932, and that winter started a tramp through England which showed me the beginnings of schemes which to-day are bearing fruit.

CHAPTER III

SLUMP—1932

TALK of a Slump is in the air again to-day and if it comes about we have less excuse then we had eight years ago, either for letting it come or for not knowing what to do when it has arrived, possibly through no fault of our own, but due to bad times in other countries. What I saw, tramping up and down England and Scotland in the winter of 1932, only just over five years ago, might be worth remembering to-day, before we look at present conditions abroad and at home.

The summer of 1930 saw the beginning of the collapse of the stock market; the actual depression in industry had already set in sometime previously. There was a slight revival and then a second collapse. In 1931 the British Empire could stand the strain no longer, and we went off the Gold Standard, which had helped other countries more than ourselves. The really colossal collapse in America was not to take place until the spring of 1933. As I looked at the pathetic faces of some of the Americans, literally stranded penniless in Paris at that time, I could not help but remember my own feelings in Salt Lake City a year and a half before. Then, Senator Smoot had said America could never let Great Britain sink. In 1933 Great Britain felt the same about America; but both countries were passing through times which were

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easy compared to conditions in some of the world's other great States.

In the winter of 1932 and at the beginning of 1933, I wandered through England; she seemed like a stunned country just beginning to awake from an almost knock-out blow. We might remember that that is not six years ago and that we are possibly yet not recovered enough to face the risks of another similar crash. There is no doubt that we were then in a state of complete panic; I felt it in the houses of the rich and I saw it by the firesides of the doss houses. The rich were in a panic, first of all because they would not face the fact that a recovery in the Markets was likely to be a very long job; secondly they were in a panic because in those hectic years since the Great War so many of them had completely lost touch with the working classes of their own country. They, far more than the poor, had been influenced by the press; they had read that the unemployed were unwilling to work; their hair stood on end when they learnt of the growing propaganda influence of Communist Russia; they remembered the General Strike of 1926 and they had, so many of them, the pre-War mentality. They did not trust the workmen; they did not know, as they must know to-day, after nearly seven years of a National Government, that the workmen and the poorer people of England are possibly steadier and more progressive than they are themselves.

The workmen and the unemployed were in a state of panic, though possibly not so great a panic, even though it must have meant more to them because they felt what little savings they had might soon be destroyed. Men who had never known a day's unemployment, suddenly

found themselves on the street and others were threatened with an insecurity they had never known before. The people seemed to me to be perfectly ready to face facts and to do almost anything drastic that was required of them, and this was only six years ago.

The pre-War people who were at the head of Affairs did not at first altogether understand this. Just as it has taken fourteen or fifteen years for the new voters to learn to vote and to understand something about the Government of the country, so has it taken those pre-War leaders, who were still in control of England about the time of the crisis, several years to understand the new mentality of the new voters or rulers of the country, whichever you like to call them. I remember well, about that time, a former chief Conservative Whip telling me that he was always guided as to what the country really felt by the policy of the popular papers. He explained to me that these papers had their salesmen and canvassers up and down the country, going from house to house, with their ears to the ground, and the policy of the papers was usually attuned to the reports from these men. This Chief Whip, I think, was remembering the days when that was no doubt true; he was forgetting the new post-War voters who cannot afford a paper or who only want to read the sporting news or who prefer a picture paper. It would be an interesting thing to work out how many millions never read a newspaper at all, or if they do, only read the more serious journals, such as *The Times* and *The Telegraph* which they read in the public libraries. I believe it is true, that for every letter a popular newspaper receives, it is calculated there are at least a hundred other readers who are interested on similar lines, but

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who cannot be bothered to write. That may be so, but there are also probably as many hundreds who have no special feelings at all and who would not be influenced by any one newspaper.

Broadcasting has now a greater influence than anything else in this country, for the announcers' voice penetrates into millions of homes and the fact that our Broadcasting Company keeps clear of every kind of propaganda as far as it is humanly possible, and in spite of what partisans of different sides say to the contrary, should counteract any bias one way or another inspired by newspapers. Has this Broadcasting influence been successful in the past? The crucial test of our elections was the General Election of 1931; people were enabled to hear, on the wireless in their own homes, all sides of the case; a thing that probably would not have been possible in that heated period, had they had to rely on the press or on attending public meetings. We know how the country answered and in 1932 we could see how the country was reacting.

So many different people see Great Britain through so many different spectacles that one hesitates to take any one's opinion. Possibly the police are the best informed and they assured me in 1932, that there was less risk of Communism in Great Britain in spite of the Depression, than there had ever been before. Even in Glasgow, where things were supposed to be at their worst, the actual active number of Communists could be counted in hundreds and every member was known. On the other hand, the Vatican in Rome which has a special anti-Communist organisation, is quite convinced that Communism is rampant in this country and is being regularly

instilled into the small children of the schools. Foreign Embassies also send back to their countries massive reports, pointing to the same conclusions. Yet what they call Communism is what we call Socialism and is usually only a temporary complaint for many of its adherents; its main danger lies in the fact that it may encourage people to ask for too much in this country, to ask in fact for more than this, or any other country can give in these times. But the main conclusion which I reached in 1932, and nothing to this day has given me cause to alter that view, was that if the English working man is allowed to see both sides of our argument, he will be unlikely to go in for any form of real Communist experiment. And even if the rich forget the lessons of the Slump of seven years ago, the poor have not forgotten what they went through. They still think it was largely due to the ignorant leadership of some of their Socialist leaders up to 1931, and to a lack of courage on the part of other leaders to do what they thought was right.

As I tramped first through East Anglia, comparing it with the U.S.A., I was struck by the difference in distances any man would have to go who was on the great adventure of finding a new job for himself. Two hundred miles from one town to another would be nothing altogether unusual in the Western United States; and the hovel into which the hobo would have to crawl for the night, once his lifts had brought him to that town, would be only bearable if he were really dead tired. Anything approaching comfort would cost a dollar, which is 4/-. In England there are workhouses within reasonable walking distance of each other all over the country. But it is as well to remember that there is a definite feeling

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amongst the workmen, young or old, in work or out of work, that to sleep a night in a Casual Ward is the final and ultimate disgrace, after which for many people it does not seem worth while to try and get back their respectability again. Instead of the workhouse, these people will aim at going to a hostel or a doss house, where they will pay anything from sixpence to a shilling. You will find in both the doss houses and in the larger hostels, which latter are usually either run municipally or by some well-known charity, every type of working man in this country below a certain financial level. In 1932 these places were always full, but I never heard in one of them a word of Communism spoken.

Sitting in the Church Army Hostel in Norwich, and again in Manchester and at Wallsend near Newcastle, I heard older men discuss the unemployment problem. Most of them were that year out of work for the first time in their lives; they were bitter against the Conservative Government of 1924 to 1929; they argued that for ten years they had paid into the Unemployment Insurance Fund and had never drawn a penny from it; yet they had seen young men obtaining relief who were being brought up to ignore work. These young men had brought about the bankruptcy of the Fund and the Government, not understanding the mentality of the country, had let the situation drift until the Fund was bankrupt. Now my friends must sit in hostels and possibly stare into space for the rest of their lives, as they put it, "Just because the Government had not the guts to give these young fellows compulsory training in Labour Camps".

Eight months after this it was my privilege to conduct

the pilgrimage of over four hundred Roman Catholic unemployed to Rome. In each Parish in the British Isles, the Parish Priest had been left the invidious task of selecting the three best candidates from amongst the unemployed of their districts, and even when they had done this we were left in London with the still more invidious task of cutting down the fifteen hundred names, so sent in, to four hundred and fifty. As I talked to and got to know these men, the very best type possible of unemployed, I heard with interest their comments on the youth of England. They felt that our young men badly needed some form of discipline; these youths were being brought up in 1932, without any work, without any regular hours, without any hope and with a minimum of food and clothing. They were the sons and the younger brothers of the men with whom I was talking.

For these older men, at least there was something to keep them sane; memories of better days, experience of the world and a knowledge that bad times need not last for ever. But for young men to see their elders as unemployed and seemingly as hopeless as themselves with no knowledge of anything else around them, was a terrible moral strain. As we came back from Italy after we had seen, if only for a few days, the Italian Fascist Government in action, the comments of my unemployed friends became still more critical. They argued then, that it would be a far greater kindness for the Government immediately to take stringent action to discipline the country's young men, than to let them drift into such a mentality that only some kind of regime, like what these men had just seen in Italy, would be possible. Such a prospect horrified the pilgrims and they looked as I

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think a growing number look to-day, to the Government to do something for young men.

And what about the young men themselves? It will be absurd to say that they are longing to be disciplined; no human being ever has been, who has in him any of the characteristics which have made the Anglo-Saxons great; and these young men in 1932 were no more degenerate than their ancestors. It is probably true what the papers used to say, that these young men seemed able to go to the cinema and to the dog races on their unemployment dole; but go a step further and come with me into the poorer doss houses of the North of England, go to the washing-room or spend the night in the dormitory, or spend the day with these young men. You will find, as often as not, that in mid-winter they have no vests, no underclothes under their shirts; or even that they wear a vest and no shirt under a buttoned up coat, or else they go without meals for far longer than is good for them. Is that to be wondered at, when they are young? If they preferred a warm vest to taking a girl to the cinema or as many meals as they could get, to the excitement of a gamble on a race meeting, which has been their father's and their grandfather's hobby before them, then I would begin to say, these young men were degenerating. In 1932, it was argued against me, that even when municipalities and other organisations arranged physical training classes, the people often did not turn up.

In many towns, Middlesborough being an example, I found that was not the case; the unemployed did come as often as was possible, but in areas that were harder hit and had been suffering for a longer period of years, such

as Liverpool and other shipping centres, the criticism was true. One reason for it was pride, a thing our workmen never intend to lose. If the day was wet, the young men could not come to the gym classes, for the soles of their shoes had worn too thin; and if the changing room of the gym had not got curtained off cubicles, other reasonably well-dressed young men would not come. They did not want people to see that they only wore sock tops and had bare feet inside their shoes, or that their underwear was too torn or even non-existent. There was yet another reason, physical training might mean competition and some young men had not had enough food to be able to do enough training to compete against better fed districts. Indeed I found in one place, where a visit from the Prince of Wales had taken place only a week before, that the boys had trained so hard to give him a good display, they had each and every one of them completely collapsed through lack of strength in the days after he had gone through. In another centre in the Midlands, I found kind hearted but thoughtless people had given these people so much unaccustomed good food for three or four days round Christmas time, that they again had all been taken ill.

What could be the lesson from all this? One might jump to the conclusion that food tickets and clothes tickets, rather than a money dole, should be given the unemployed; but that would be cutting right across one of the most cherished ambitions of the working man; that even when he is unemployed, he should be allowed to feel he has some independance left, to do with the money what he likes. If that be so, then surely there is one other alternative, to insist that the young men do

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some training in a Labour Camp? And during those very impressionable years, have at least one year in which they have regular hours, regular work and regular food.

Some working men, themselves good enough judges of their own companions, feel that that would be enough and that there would never be a need for more stringent Government in the years to come. These men also often pointed out that they were compelled to pay into the Unemployment Insurance Fund; if the Government had not compelled them to do so, the majority of them would have paid in themselves, voluntarily, to an Insurance Company and had that Insurance Company gone bankrupt, as seemingly the Unemployment Fund of the Government had done, its Directors would probably have gone to prison. These men then, called on the Government to put the Unemployment Insurance Fund on a sound financial basis and to see to it that their own sons should not degenerate past all hope. If they told it to me once, they told it to me a hundred times; and whatever people will tell me to the contrary, I refuse to believe that a year's Labour Service in this country or in the Empire would in the long run be unpopular, were it perfectly sponsored.

One of the first things our present National Government did was to put the Unemployment Insurance Fund on its feet as it is to-day. But it has been a difficult business, not unaccompanied by hardship; and the Fund must never be tampered with again. The Government realised that one of the most essential things, is that the savings of the people of this country shall be secure. Why things were allowed to slip in those early years after the Great War and especially in those two years of Socialist

Government, was because the voters of this country were living in a dreamland of prosperity, and it became necessary to outbid one's political rival if one wanted to have the voters' favour. Without that favour, no one could hope to govern. By 1932 and 1933, the voter had learnt his lesson and was ready to back the Government. The question then was, was it too late?

The average voter was not ready for conscription of any sort and the idea of Labour Camps was far from popular with people already in employment. It must be remembered that only the unemployed and the people living in certain Distressed Areas of England and Scotland, knew the havoc being wrought by unemployment amongst the country's youth; and if Labour Camps were to be successful, they must in the long run be for the whole country, and the country as a whole did not understand the necessity. The Ministry of Labour, just the same as the bodies organising Labour Camps in other countries, have to go slow to experiment and if possible to get people accustomed to what it means. I do not think, even to-day, that the country quite understands what it means, but if anybody had come round the North of England with me six years ago, they would have come across numbers of young ~~men~~ who stood at street corners, or who sat gazing vacantly into space, in hostels and doss houses. These young men, almost to a man, said they would not mind another war; they could not imagine that it would be any worse than their present existence, and they felt it would mean regular food and regular pay and warm clothing. That war spirit has grown amongst the younger generation, even though a great deal more work has been found in the last few years

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than was ever thought possible. But, as I have said at the beginning of this chapter, there is talk to-day of another Slump; if that should come, our young men will be in a very serious plight and it is now time that Slump or no Slump, something were done to make them healthy, not for cannon fodder but for the breeding of a happy race; and that something were done to make all classes know and understand each other, so that the lack of votes from one group through lack of interest, would no longer necessitate the ignoring of required reforms for yet another group.

But in those days, it was not only unemployment that was discussed, there was the general mentality of a depression. People would not buy anything that was not absolutely necessary, everybody was told to economise and luxury trades seemed ruined. People went about with a look of depression and those commercial travellers, who gave me lifts in their cars, told me nothing was being bought, except necessities, with the one exception that if you offered a substantial discount many people would immediately fall, and buy. This it was felt was a sign that the money was there but that too much talk about bad times was bringing about an appallingly defeatist mentality. I argued often with small business people up and down the country who always insisted that things had never been worse and yet when we went on discussing the matter and went into details about their own private lives and businesses, they would soon admit that things were not so bad after all in their own personal line. They always hastened to add that the press said things were very bad elsewhere.

When I went to some of the meetings organised by

educational bodies, not for the unemployed but for the working men, I was struck by the fact that in all the lectures and debates only one side of the situation was looked at. There seemed to me to be being developed in this country a definite group of working men who were only being shown one side of every argument about the present day situation; and if they were told at all or were themselves willing to read the other side, it was with such coloured spectacles that it was really tantamount to ignoring the other side altogether. These people are dangerous to this country, for they will not face facts about the rest of the world. In January, 1933, they did not take the situation in Germany very seriously. The two countries they studied most were Russia and Italy; everything was good in Russia, everything was bad in Italy; and everything could be so much better in Great Britain. These people showed an appalling ignorance and a deplorable bias. They are destined in their districts to be the intellectuals of the Socialist Party, to be listened to and perhaps one day to be in important positions in this country. It is an alarming thought.

But for every one of such small clubs, I found groups of less intellectual but more practical working men, who wanted to know both sides. In Spennymoor, I found an excellent little debating society amongst the unemployed; it tried to carry on as if it were a miniature Parliament, and had its Speaker and officials and correct Parliamentary procedure. Its originator, who was in no sense a politician, wanted the unemployed to learn of the difficulties and the hindrances which tradition had brought about in getting a Bill through Parliament. He also insisted on the points of view of each of the Parlia-

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mentary Parties being thoroughly appreciated and voiced; in this way he taught the men toleration and even after two or three evenings on a Bill, they began to realise how many sides there might be to almost every argument.

Less luckily placed were the men in the doss houses who were moving from district to district; but even they would come in unconvinced after listening to the Socialist orators at the street corners. They would tell me that they hated propaganda from either side, and that they had seen things for themselves in their travels, for many of them had been to sea or to work as emigrants in the Dominions; and on the whole they found the British system of Government the best. They felt thoroughly annoyed with all Parties for thê mess into which they had got the country; they thought that if a Slump was coming, there should have been some kind of national plan to tide it over, as they had read about in Sweden. They felt that the Government ought never to have come to an agreement to pay the United States our Debt without at the same time making France and Italy pay us theirs. But once we had done it and given Great Britain's word, these fellows were determined that we would have to pay it. They were as patriotically Nationalist as anyone in the country and they looked forward to a National Government that would really put this country straight. They told me they understood that it would take a long time and they were as willing to pull in their belts as have been the work people in many other countries of the world in the last few years. But they wanted it understood by the wealthier classes, that this pulling in of belts must be for all classes and could not go on indefinitely. The Government would be given time, not

only to try and get Great Britain back to prosperity but to see that the causes of the crisis and Slump did not arise again.

In all these conversations, I found that the men were more willing to listen to people who had seen things for themselves than to listen to the ordinary orator who was merely quoting from hearsay. Facts about other countries are what are wanted by the working classes to-day. Biassed and woolly-headed judgements of conditions in other countries are hopeless and are not trusted by the working men, but if they can get no other information they cannot be expected to remain uninfluenced by such propaganda. There are numbers of British commercial travellers who travel all over the world and it would seem a great pity that they are not asked more frequently to address working men's clubs and groups of unemployed about what they see when they are abroad. They constantly speak at Rotary Clubs, but that does not touch the main body of voters. They will find, as I have found, that in almost every doss house or hostel there are at least one or two people who have also seen the world, and in very few will there not be some people who have known the Germans in the Great War.

Some time ago in New Guinea, which once was German, Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in a new district; some of their rivals resented them and in true Christian spirit informed the natives that these Roman Catholics were all Germans. We had done so much in the Great War to instil a dread of Germans into the natives that this one statement was quite enough to make them fly in terror from the Catholics. Similarly, the Labour Camps, which were being much discussed in the

Distressed Areas at the beginning of the National Government's term of Office, and are being discussed again to-day, caused considerable alarm to those Socialist leaders who did not want them. In the following year, the Nazis developed Concentration Camps, something quite distinct from Labour Camps. But those elements who were also behind the Hunger Marchers of 1932 and who have systematically done everything they can to undermine temporary measures of relief for the unemployed, immediately started to compare Labour Camps to the German Concentration Camps and to dub them 'Slave Camps'. This has undoubtedly set back the development of the Camps in our country. As the Concentration Camps have been mentioned and are the result of a Totalitarian Regime, which a number of our thinking working men feel may one day come to England, if we don't have compulsory Labour Camps—especially should another Slump ensue—it might be just as well for me to describe exactly what I have seen of the Concentration Camps in Germany, the Labour Camps in Germany and the Labour Camps in England, and if possible try to show how these latter might be developed on entirely English lines.

CHAPTER IV

PERSECUTION—1933

THERE is a strong feeling in this country that we should not interfere in the affairs of other people. It would seem to me therefore, to have nothing to do with us what the Germans choose for themselves. We can resent as much as we like what Japan does to China or what Germany might do to countries outside her own borders; but how she orders her own House is her own affair.

It is however necessary if our people are to play a role in World Affairs, that they should at times be able to compare their conditions with those of other countries. If most of us feel, and I am included in that number, that we manage our own affairs better than do the French or the Germans or the Italians, let us remember that the majority of those peoples think quite differently about the way we live. It has however, been said that the Labour Camps in England are like the Concentration Camps in Germany, and people have tried to tell the workmen of this country that we are no longer a Free People. For that reason and that alone, I wish to give an impression of what I myself have seen of concentration camps and of lack of freedom in Germany. In other chapters, I will tell of things in Germany, which I think could be usefully followed over here. I would also like to point out that

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Germans are on the whole far more willing to allow critical Britishers to visit and examine different sides of life in Germany than we are willing to show our institutions in this country. Which at least shows that they themselves believe in what they are doing.

My first visit to a German Concentration Camp was in December, 1933. I was motored out from Berlin to Oranienburg, about two hours north-west of the City. At that time Oranienburg was one of the leading concentration camps in the country. It would be difficult to tell how many people were there, but to the best of my memory there were at least two hundred. On arrival, at what looked like a converted factory, we were made to fill up various forms and then the Commandant took us round; he explained to me that the prisoners were almost all political prisoners, and that they were there for a period of several months. It was hoped that during that time they would be able to see the error of their ways, and that the Communists especially would become good Nazis.

I was informed that the method to be adopted for such conversion was to have a considerable amount of discipline, a certain amount of regular work, simple food, plenty of lectures, numbers of recognised newspapers and plenty of spare time in which the prisoners could sit around and think of their many errors of judgement. We went first to the dormitories which were in two converted barns. The beds were of straw and were one on top of the other, in long rows on both sides of the barn; the older men were allowed to lie in the bottom bunks. There was one large recreation hall where I saw three or four men reading and supposed to be resting. Outside, I came across a group of a dozen men filling the furnace

with logs; the weights they had to carry seemed heavy and the men looked to me to be in age from about forty to sixty. They were all in a regulation prison uniform and one of them was pointed out to me as a prominent Social Democratic Member of Parliament until early that year. He was in a gang of about six men who were passing heavy blocks of wood from one to the other.

Later I was shown, in the offices, the weights of the men as they came in and as they went out; according to these figures, most of the men gained in health from their enforced imprisonment. I was also shown some of the literature against concentration camps, especially the famous Brown Book and it was explained to me where this propaganda was inaccurate. I then asked if I might not see some of the cells where the men received special punishment and if necessary solitary confinement. This innocent remark on my part was taken as a delightful joke, and they all laughed merrily at such a suggestion. Of course, I was told that there was no such place. A few minutes later I came back to the attack; I pointed out how puzzled I was, in view of the fact that I had been shown a plan of Oranienburg, some time before, and that therefore I knew that I was not being shown everything. I added that all I had seen had been so intensely interesting that it would be an awful pity if I later on found out that something had been hidden from me; it would so upset my judgement about the accuracy of all I had already seen. There was a slight hesitation and then the Commandant informed me that of course some of the prisoners were occasionally rather refractory and they had, naturally, a few cells where these people were shut up; he had not thought that that could interest me, but

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if it would I was at liberty to see it and to ask any prisoner there any question I liked.

We went into another part of the buildings. Inside a large barn were three wooden cells, the wood reaching up almost to the ceiling; there were no windows in the cells; the door was opened and I found myself looking into a room about nine feet long and about six feet wide. Here in the dark, was a little man who had been already confined there, he informed me, for three days; he was of course, in solitary confinement and blinked as he saw the daylight through the open door. He had to sleep on straw and there was no sanitary arrangement for him of any sort. I asked him why he was in there and he replied: "Because I wrote to my family wishing that I could have some white bread to which I am accustomed, instead of the constant black bread." The Commandant turned to me and said: "You can see that is obviously not true, as he would not be in here for so small an offence as that." I did not ask him anything more and I did not ask to see any more; but as we went away, the Commandant told me: "You know when it was announced the other day, that Germany was withdrawing from the League of Nations because she would not be suppressed any more, every single one of the prisoners here cheered for Hitler"; and the German mentality and feeling about the League of Nations is such, that I believe that to have been quite possible.

A few days later I was in Munich and oddly enough it was a prominent Jew who arranged for me to visit a still more famous concentration camp, the one at Dachau, just outside the City. As we motored out to this much visited camp, my companion explained to me that al-

though life there was undoubtedly unpleasant, yet he could assure me it was no more unpleasant than the life he had to undergo when he was a prisoner of war at Oswestry in the Midlands of England. He told me of the privations he went through then and of the humiliations to which he had been put by the Commandant. When we reached Dachau, we found ourselves in the largest maze of barbed wire I think I have ever seen; sentries were posted in look-out towers with machine guns trained on the prison quarters, some of the barbed wire was electrically charged at night, and the camp seemed full of Hitler's S.S. Black Guard. The reason for this, I found, was that an inspection of the camp was being held by Herr Himmler, the head of the Secret Police, and Herr Streicher, the famous Jew baiter. I was introduced to these two men and they invited me to continue with them around the camp. Herr Himmler pointed to a group of some fifty or sixty prisoners and said to me: "Can't you see from their heads that they are of a criminal and degenerate type?" As all their heads were shaved, I felt it would be difficult to tell a criminal from any other type, but then I am not an expert phrenologist. We were taken over the kitchens where something like a thousand meals could be served at a time. From there we went on to the dormitories, which were a lot better than at Oranienburg and were in a series of huts. By this time I was alone with Herr Streicher; everybody stood up to attention as we came in. Streicher moved through the room, stopping here and there, literally barking at the prisoners. He asked them where they came from and they answered nervously. Some of them were lawyers, others were politicians, others homosexualists and

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numbers of them Jews. As we came towards any of the latter, Streicher seemed to get a little more excited, he would bring them forward, roar at them to turn their heads to the left and then to the right, and would turn towards me, explaining: "You see their profiles, Jews, all Jews."

Again it was made quite clear that the majority of these people were political opponents of the present regime and that they did not stay for many months. 'Drunken husbands were also sent in by complaining wives, and ne'er-do-well sons were often admitted at the request of their parents. Two men who had not carried out the orders of a Court about the payment of a separation allowance to their wives, were also undergoing a short treatment in the camp. The lake was covered in ice and some of the prisoners were curling; but I came away from that place as ready to believe the stories of beatings up and even of killing as anyone who had not been there.

It is probably true that most of the atrocities that have been proved in connection with the camps, took place in those early days after what can fairly be called "a Revolution". But still concentration camps go on to this day, and in my numerous visits to Germany during these last few years, I have constantly come across people who were prisoners in them. They are probably only equalled by the island prisons of Italy and by the ten times worse atrocities which have gone on in Russia over a long period of years. But there is a German element that is as horrified by these camps and is as ashamed of them as would be any Englishman. One well-known supporter of the Nazi Party told me that he had always thought it was a cruel form of propaganda for us to spread during

the Great War, the tales of German cruelty and German atrocities in Belgium; but now he felt that to his eternal shame those tales perhaps were true, since they might easily have been atrocities committed by the fathers of the men in charge of the new concentration camps.

When only a few months later the appalling shootings of June 30th, 1934, took place, an Englishman trying to explain these events to a British audience, stated: "In order to understand the position in Germany and the mentality of the country and what has just happened, you would have to imagine the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, flying to Edinburgh, where he might have found, say Sir Robert Horne, Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Arthur Henderson plotting a *coup d'Etat*. He would then have taken all three Statesmen up and had them shot before returning to London."

To us it sounds incredible and indeed it was incredible to large numbers of Germans as well. But they have not forgotten those days and however much some Germans may feel that things are going wrong in their country to-day they will not raise their voices too loud in protest, for fear the extremists in the Nazi Party, decide to shoot again. This lack of freedom of speech and general nervousness tells on the health of numbers of German intellectuals. I do not think, from all I can hear to-day that is reliable, that much beating up goes on now in the concentration camps; but there is still no doubt a certain amount of it. Nobody is released from a concentration camp until he has signed a statement that he will not tell what goes on there. That has however, not prevented many people from speaking their minds; they feel, especially the intellectual types, that the biggest strain is

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the humiliation and the fact that one is left in solitary confinement. The injustice of it is particularly apparent when one realises that there is no form of trial whatever. Suddenly the police will come to your house or as often as not, they will arrest you somewhere else; you are taken to the offices of the Secret Police, there two particularly burly S.S. men stand beside you while you are questioned at considerable length by a third man. If your answers are in any way disrespectful, you are almost certain to get beaten. There have been numerous attempts at suicide after such questioning. You are then taken off, no matter what your answers, to the Concentration Camp for an indefinite period, without anything having been proved against you, and your relatives may or may not be informed of what has happened. . . .

It can well be imagined that under such circumstances there is no freedom of speech in Germany. But bit by bit the people up and down the country, are beginning to be more courageous and are defying the Secret Police, and their spies by talking comparatively openly. In the last year however, there has been a tremendous increase in the sale of tea-cosies. These are placed over the telephones when visitors come to tea, so that people can talk in peace, for many telephones have an instrument placed on them, whereby every conversation in the room can be taken down, as indeed it very often is.

With the complete censorship of the press, it becomes impossible for the average German to know very much about what is really going on abroad; a case in point, was the abdication of King Edward VIII, not a word about which appeared in any German paper until he had actually abdicated. The sending of German soldiers to Spain was

also almost entirely unknown for many months. For some time Germans used to buy foreign newspapers, but that too became known to the Nazi officials in charge of each block of houses in which such a reader might happen to live. Now foreign newspapers are usually only bought at the railway stations or by people who do not mind what the officials think.

In addition to concentration camps, there are large numbers of prisons where people can also be kept in confinement without a trial; for the police have a right to arrest and imprison indefinitely anybody they personally consider may be a danger to the State. Sometimes they bring these people before a judge and charge them with some specific offences, but even if they are acquitted the police very often ignore the acquittal and keep them in prison.

It is as well for foreign visitors to know about this side of life in Germany, since they are unlikely to see it unless they can speak the language and reside sufficiently long in Germany to get the confidence of the ordinary man in the street. On the surface, everything looks well and it would be grossly unfair to the Nazi Regime not to give it credit for the fact that it has brought about a Revolution with the spilling of far less blood than in Russia or elsewhere. Moreover, the Revolution has gone deep down into the heart of the people and its ultimate results cannot yet be judged. But when we talk, in this country, of changes, almost as drastic, we must remember at what a cost of suffering they have been achieved in Germany and in Russia.

I am touching very little in this book on conditions in Russia, since most of my readers will no doubt have

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read a plethora of books, from one side or the other, on the subject of the Russian experiment; I only want to describe countries I have studied personally myself. All that I have seen of Russia I can describe in the following few sentences.

When I was in Harbin, in Manchukuo, the Soviet Consulate was doing all in its power to get Russians to go back to Russia to take up executive work. After all these twenty years, with a hundred and twenty million people in their country, at the very least, they cannot produce sufficient leaders. As I travelled through Siberia, on what was the de luxe train of the whole Soviet Republic, I thanked my stars that I was travelling in the Wagon-Lit compartment and that I had with me my own food. The kitchens and the dining saloon were far from clean, and the prices of the food and the drinks were enormous; only if you had tickets, bought outside the country, could you get enough food at a reasonable price. The ordinary carriages were packed like sardines, with people; but with us travelled the military officers and what were evidently the more important officials. They seemed to have wads of roubles and they paid without a murmur what seemed to me almost fortunes, for their food and drink. Every now and then we stopped at railway stations in the middle of winter and would get out for twenty minutes to walk up and down in the freezing Siberian weather. Constantly small children and even pathetic looking women would furtively come towards me begging for a little food or for some money. The men, especially the soldiers, always seemed sufficiently warmly clad, but the women across Siberia looked as if they were in a terrible state of poverty.

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Nothing was more alarming than to see occasionally the other trains shunted on to the sidings as we passed. These were not "de luxe" trains, nor were they meant for foreign visitors to see, but the people were locked inside them, there was no paint on the carriages, they were like old wooden boxes and the misery of the faces inside made it seem quite possible that the stories which I was told were true, namely that these people who had become too capitalistically inclined were being forcibly removed from Western Russia to populate the Eastern areas of Siberia and so form a bulwark against the Japanese. I know that I have seen nothing worse in the interior of poorest China than the condition of these travellers.

It is true, as Mr. Eden said in Birmingham, that we must not look on the evil side of other countries' regimes but must try and see what they have with which it is possible for us to agree. No one will deny that the Russian Government has forcibly done a great deal to raise the standard of living amongst their urban population. Nobody will equally deny that the conditions before, were so backward and the Slavs themselves so ignorant, it was fairly easy to do; but the cost and suffering perhaps will never be known and the achievement is still far short of our own. Where there is something worth studying and comparing with our own developments on similar lines, is in the German labour camps and the Italian *Dopolavora* or "After Work Organisation".

Why could we not have such organisations without their propaganda sides, without compulsion and merely through the desire of this country for every class to pull together and give everyone a chance?

CHAPTER V

FOREIGN LABOUR CAMPS—1934-1938

AS I sat at Nuremberg last September looking at the March Past of the Labour Corps of Germany, I could not help but marvel at the change wrought in only three years and at the marvellous quickness of development. Here before me marched thirty-eight thousand young men, aged from eighteen to twenty, goose-stepping passed the Fuhrer, to the loud cheers of the on-lookers, and then they doubled round and back of the stands, to march up in a most imposing parade, through the centre of the field, carrying their shining spades at the slope. In the centre of their group marched about a thousand young men, stripped to the waist and bronzed. They were met by a procession of seven hundred and twenty girls from the Girls' Labour Camps, who formed semi-circles round two large flags. Twenty-two men then approached from the left and the right, and forming up in open formation, waved around their heads and into different patterns, forty-four swastika flags, with a background of over two hundred more, flying from flag poles around the stadium. The men and the girls sang in unison and paid homage to the dead. Loyal anthems were sung and many verses were recited of a new hymn, a typical verse of which follows:

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All together.....We are ready.

The young men.....We thank our leader
That he calls us.
We heard his voice
As Germany slept.
We wish to be companions
And to dedicate our lives to work
and Germany.
We are the Standard Bearers
Of the new Times.

In other verses, spoken later on, they laid stress on the work they intended to be able to do to help the peasants on the land. They spent a good deal of time in moving their spades from the shoulder to the ground, and it was an amazing thing to see the wonderful precision with which they acted, when one realises that they cannot have been, any of them, more than six months in training and that they came from all over Germany and were meeting for the first time without a dress parade, on the Zeppelin Field that morning.

If the propaganda and the militarist element could only be eliminated, one felt here was something with almost unbelievable possibilities for our own Youth's future. As I thought back to those days in early 1934 when I first visited the German Labour Camps, when I went to the Austrian Labour Camps and when I saw for the first time our own Labour Camps, I could not help but resent the insensate propaganda in Great Britain by people from the Left Wing against our Labour Camps, dubbing them Concentration Camps or Slave Camps and

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comparing them to those places I have already described in the last chapter. How different are the facts.

Early in 1934 I visited a number of German Labour Camps and I remember so well what I saw.

The purpose of the Labour Camps, that held in 1934 between 200,000 and 300,000 men almost all volunteers, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, unmarried, was, I gathered on all sides, to give these young men, both rich and poor, a knowledge of each other and a knowledge of service and discipline. These Camps were no invention of the Government. They grew gradually, entirely from the bottom, having begun several years previously with various groups of youths deciding for themselves that they must get off the streets and do something useful somewhere. These youths had learnt about such camps from young army officers and others who had gone out to Bulgaria to study them there; and many landowners helped them by lending parts of their properties on which the youths could work.

The Government co-ordinated the camps and intended later on in 1934, as work could be found and as their success justified their very considerable cost, to increase them, so that they eventually were to become a permanent fixture in the life of the State, with everybody attending for a period of from twenty-six to fifty-two weeks. Already the camps were compulsory for certain university students; and young men desirous of entering the German Foreign Office were being informed that they could not hope to represent Germany abroad until they knew the real Germany at home; and so they had to do their service as ordinary hands in the Labour Camps.

I visited four of the eight camps around Hamburg.

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Two were on the side of the main road, one a converted warehouse, the other a converted public house. Another one I visited had been once a barracks and the fourth was situated at the head of a huge pit of 140 acres, which the unemployed in the camp were converting into a new cemetery for the city of Hamburg. The men in the public house were making dykes and reclaiming land, while those in the barracks were draining a marsh, making a canal, and preparing a large swimming pool. On this very cheap land settlement houses for poor working men were to be built, the building having first been made possible by the work of the unemployed. For those in Labour Camps the Government gave the dole money of two marks a day direct to the manager. Out of this money food, heating, lodging, an allowance of twenty-five pfennigs a day, clothing (which was lent, not given), and a salary for the officials in charge had to be found. The ordinary working-class people were not compelled to go to these camps, but labour exchanges 'suggested' that they went, and few employers in those hard times were likely to prefer a young man who would not go, to one who had been to a camp.

Wherever I went in the camps and in the youth hostels and elsewhere I always found that every healthy-looking young man was not only keen to go but often longed to stay on over his time. I came across cases where groups of youths gave up their twenty-five pfennigs a day in order to finance some friend they wanted to keep on another few weeks, who had no eventual work to go to. An organisation had been started to keep in touch with those who had left the camps and to try to find them employment. There was no doubt that the camps were run on disciplined, even

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militaristic, lines. A typical day began with rising at seven o'clock, followed by the hoisting of the Swastika flag, a half-hour's physical training, breakfast at eight o'clock, three hours' work, back for bread and jam, then another three hours' work. A good luncheon was served. Mine was so hot I often could not eat it, and it certainly filled me, hungry though I was. As many helpings of the dish were given as the camper wished. Later came an hour's rest followed by sport, which meant different things in different places and very often meant route marches. The evenings the men had more or less to themselves, with an occasional lecture, and they were in bed by nine-thirty.

In one youth hostel in Frankfurt I met a youth bicycling from Westphalia to Stuttgart to join the Stuttgart camp. He washed for over half an hour in the hostel, for he was not sure of his next hot bath. In the Hamburg camps during my tour the men had not received the new official uniform for camps, which is a sort of Robin Hood cap and brown uniform, but were wearing the old field grey of the War. They were under the command of ex-officers and N.C.O.'s. Whenever I approached everyone sprang to attention, while the youth in charge of the room told in rapid staccato sentences how many people were in the room, what they did, and so forth. With me was an official who clicked his heels violently whenever I spoke to him; and it was unfortunate that this always seemed to happen in a puddle, so that I was eventually covered in mud. The average numbers in the camps were 250. Unlike the Austrians the Germans find larger numbers of men more economical. They prefer to place camps in districts where there will be work for some

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years, and when work is at any distance they provide bicycles for the men to get there and back, but the distance is never more than three or four miles.

In the women's camps one of which I visited at Brandenburg, they find it is much easier to have small camps of twenty to thirty, women not being so economical in large numbers. There were over 10,000 women in these camps in 1934. The camp was a converted farm-house on the edge of a village. The girls were unmarried and from the towns. They wore no special uniform and gave their time to helping the local peasant families, either by working on the land and so relieving the mothers of young children, or else by running kindergartens. They also taught and they made garments for the Winter Help. Their two leisure hours were, as they explained to me, "spent in telling each other of their past lives."

Near by was the new model camp for Germany. This was started in November, 1933, with the idea of deciding what should eventually be the ideal type on which all future camps were to be permanently modelled. We found dormitories with wooden bedsteads and wooden lockers, and dormitories with steel bedsteads and steel lockers; different ideas with regard to dining-rooms, their size, how to build them so that they could be most conveniently removed after some years to another part of Germany; tool shops, lecture rooms, and the whole thing arranged in the form of a square. I told the organisers it was almost identical with our Government training centre plan at Claydon in Suffolk. They were considerably surprised, not knowing of its existence, and having only recently decided that this was the best

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possible plan. Up till then my visits had been to converted buildings; this was the first attempt at an original camp. I visited many others but saw nothing new, though I was impressed by the seeming cheerfulness and healthiness of the young men. Even those in the infirmary were always smiling and joking and evidently happy.

I also visited an interesting camp at Solitude, the former residence of the King of Wurttemberg, outside Stuttgart. It was interesting because it was entirely for the training of leaders for other Labour Camps. This had now become a profession, though an ill-paid one. Men were training there up to the age of forty. Usually there were three types of leaders—leaders for sports, leaders for technical subjects, such as land drainage, and leaders for intellectual subjects, such as history.

While I was there, the men, who included former goldsmiths, butchers, farmhands, textile workers, and students, were attending a class in which they could ask questions about the morning's lecture. I was struck both by the questions and the answers. One question was, "Did the Romans force Christianity on Germany?" This was denied by the lecturer, a former waiter and bottle-washer in New York, but he continued to my amazement, to point out that churches made people pray and go on their knees to induce humility, and for no religious purpose; only to gain political power. The real German religion must have none of this humility. It must be proud and national and even arrogant in its pride and be "subject to no priests."

The next question was, "When did the German race begin?" The answer here was non-committal, but left the opportunity for a lecture of nearly ten minutes. We

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were told that recent discoveries in Greenland and Iceland had shown signs of a tropical past and signs that Atlantis had been in the North Sea. It was further implied that the great race that lived there had migrated to Germany. Moreover present excavations being undertaken by Germans in Mesopotamia were showing that the whole idea that civilization had come out of the East and the South was all wrong; and, in effect, we should soon be able to prove that Greenland and then Germany were the origins of the world's civilization. This pleased everyone.

Another type of camp was to be found in Austria, where the cheerful temperament of the people appeals possibly more to the Englishman than that of the German. I visited near Vienna, the oldest Labour Camp in Austria. All the camps were voluntary. They differed from those of other countries in that the average number of men to each camp was forty. The camp at Leitenwald was started in 1932. It was one of the very few which were not run on military lines; that is to say they did not have an unemployed engineer, appointed by the Government, to supervise the work and physical training. Indeed, there was no physical training, yet the men, aged from eighteen to twenty-five, looked as fine a lot as I had seen anywhere. Each Saturday they were given a large meat cake to take home and eat with their families. As they all came from the same district they knew one another; they were visited by relatives and did not feel homesick. On Saturdays they stayed at home late. It was a Sunday morning when I visited the camp, and the men were still in bed. They slept in a hut they had themselves constructed, thirty-two of them, with iron bedsteads and

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straw mattresses and blankets provided, as were also their clothes, their food and their tools. They had special rates for the cinemas, and from the 50 groschen (about 5d.) they were paid daily many had saved up to buy earphone wireless sets.

Another camp was less elaborately run. Here also were huts, made by the men, a kitchen, cooks from the unemployed, wash basins, a barn in which to do physical training, and an engineer in command with a sub-lieutenant chosen from the men. They seemed as happy as could be, singing, and reading, and playing cards in their spare time, sitting on their beds, which were little more than boxes with straw mattresses, built one on top of the other up to the ceiling. .

The practical side of these small camps is interesting. Either a municipality or the State found in a district work which needed doing, and which the authorities were satisfied could not be paid for at the ordinary rate. Then enough huts were built to house the required number of workers. There might be only a few weeks work, or a year's, or as much as five years', in the immediate neighbourhood, and when it was done, the camp was broken up and moved elsewhere. The men remained for about thirty weeks, doing from six to eight hours a day.

At Leitenwald and Friedenstadt, colonies of lower middle class people who could not afford to take ordinary houses, had formed themselves into a sort of society and were building their own houses on a cheap piece of land; and the labour camp was formed in their midst to make the roads, pavements, and general amenities. The Government paid the society the dole money, and the

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society made itself responsible for food, fuel, accident insurance, and other necessities; the men got in addition 50 groschen a day pocket-money.

Austria seemed to think that the Trade Union criticism of these schemes did not apply to abnormal times, and started small voluntary camps for over 25,000 men, in 1933. Camps that would hold 50,000 men—about one-sixth of the total unemployment figure in Austria—were being prepared. Moreover, the authorities were opening a camp especially to train older unemployed men to take charge of these new camps as captains.

So much for the foreign camps in 1934. The German Labour Camps are now compulsory; nearly 300,000 young men go to them for six months at a time; but the idea, the shape of the buildings modelled on the camp I described outside Berlin, and the routine, I found on my last visit in October to be practically the same. The work is hard but almost all the boys like it, and already they can stage a display such as I saw in September at Nuremberg.

What about our own Camps, then and now?

CHAPTER VI

ENGLISH LABOUR CAMPS

THE English Labour Camps are so far not run on a large scale. They have however, in them possibilities for the youth of the Empire that seem almost revolutionary in their magnitude. It is important that in their development there should be no false steps taken, and that is possibly a reason why up to now their development has been slow and lacking in publicity.

Labour Camps have been run by the Ministry of Labour since 1925 and compared with the camps of other countries, especially in those years of crisis and slump up to 1934, I think they show very clearly our toleration and our national mentality. In them we find no desire to hurry, a good deal of give and take and a horror of trying out anything that seems to have no justification, i.e., doing work for which there is no need.

In 1934, just before certain elements in the Socialist Party decided to attack Labour Camps, we had eight training centres for men, some of them dating back to 1925. The numbers trained in each varied from 200 to 250, and they had six months courses. In 1933 nearly 5,000 people passed through these centres. I found them totally different from the reconditioning centres which I also visited, and where no attempt was made to train a man for anything. This differs very much from the

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German and Austrian labour camps, where there is no clear line drawn between work for training and public works to keep men busy.

At Wallsend centre, near Newcastle, I found about 250 men, one half of whom were local and lived at home, coming to the centre every morning. The rest were lads from eighteen to twenty-five years who had come from the English Northern counties. They lived like university students in lodging houses approved by the centre authorities. There is a great demand near all the centres from landladies for the trainees, whom they find invariably to be of a good type and regular payers. But the authorities make the landladies sign an agreement to fix the rent, as well as the type of food to be served for breakfast and supper.

In a large hall I saw young men, provided with overalls, working in batches, with an instructor, who was often difficult to distinguish from the men, working just as hard and just as keenly. Some men were working on motor cars; others learning to be fitters, sheet metal workers, turners or millers. Upstairs, around the gallery, men were learning to paint walls, signs, and shop fronts. They were given a certain scope for their constructive individuality to show itself, and as a result, the top part of the stadium was full of strange colour and slightly futuristic in appearance.

As far as possible the trainees are placed in an atmosphere that would be like what they would experience when they found their first jobs. This was especially noticeable in the hairdressing department. I watched young men just starting, and much braver men who allowed themselves to be shaved and have their hair cut.

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A few old men who were on relief, and some women, came in regularly, the former to be shaved every day, the latter to have their hair waved and shampooed. On certain days the old men were requested by the instructor to be particularly disgruntled, to complain about everything, and so to prepare the trainees for future clients. I was struck by the great keenness and willingness of the men, who kept very full note-books in which they marked down details of their jobs, and often made the most elaborate drawings. The more advanced students here had recently been drafted out to the different Government estates where new reconditioning centres were being started. They built these camps and painted and decorated them and generally did all the work required to prepare the centres for less well-off boys who were coming for a reconditioning period of twelve weeks.

The kind of person I saw in the training centres was of the secondary school type, though occasionally errand boys and others were taken in. It was often found in certain distressed areas that it was no longer easy to find trainees of the right standard. Wallsend was in an exceptional position, being itself in a distressed area. When possible trades that still required skilled workers in that part of England were taught. Otherwise it was customary for the Labour Exchanges to send the likely volunteers from the distressed areas to the south to train for work suitable there. For that it was more practicable to send unmarried men.

When I visited the centres in the south I found them full of young men from the north and from Wales, and it was amusing to see how they had to be got out of certain northern habits before they became acceptable to

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prospective London employers. They had to give up wearing mufflers and wear collars, and they had to rid themselves of the large numbers of badges they like pinning to their coat lapels.

The centre at Watford was in a street and was a disused chocolate factory made up to date. Here I saw the most modern methods used for teaching house building and carpentry. Furniture ranging from occasional tables to modern electric gramophone cases were being made; also tongs for the fire-grate and leather tea cosies. Most interesting of all was the group of thirty-two glass-blowers preparing the Neon signs for London streets. This is typical of what the Ministry has done for small trade. It is found that some particular industry insists on having aliens from Germany or other countries as the only experts in their craft. Immediately these training centres are supplied with instructors, and as soon as they can produce men capable of doing the work the aliens are told that their work permits in this country will not be renewed. So it was with the Neon glass makers. In three years the Watford centre had placed in work over three hundred men in this very intricate craft. Before then the work was all done by Germans. As I stood over them surrounded by broken and melting glass, I saw two employers going slowly round, watching the men and choosing their future workers.

At Park Royal, another centre near London, I walked along a road with business works and factories on each side, and at first missed the entrance to what looked yet another factory—the Government centre. As I went round I could not help but notice the difference between the free and easy—but still ordered—existence in the

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works and the German centres, where everyone sprang to attention as you came in and answered you in short, sharp sentences; or where the leader clicked his heels as you entered and recited what he had learnt by heart—what they did, how many there were, and how old. At Park Royal the manager was popular with the men. We talked to them as they worked. They told us quietly something of their lives—all very similar; large families, no work, Durham, South Wales, Lancashire. Did they like it? It seemed, as they looked at you, rather a foolish question. It is true, the Germans too seemed to like their camps. But none of the men at Watford, at Park Royal, or Wallsend would have stood the German way, and, equally, a German left to his own devices as are our men for so many hours of the day would have been lost and hopeless.

Undoubtedly many of the men feel homesick at first. If after a time they cannot get over it they are sent home again; but few, indeed, are the cases to-day that do not feel better after a couple of weeks. I found they were given money with which to pay for their lodgings in houses which they chose for themselves from a list—there were usually six to eight trainees in each. This sum paid for their breakfast, their supper, their washing, and a dinner in addition on Sunday. They could go to bed when they liked; they could get up when they liked if they were at the centre at 8 a.m. They worked until 12 noon. From 12 to 12.30 they had a good lunch, and then continued from 12.30 to 4.30. During the afternoon, at 2.30, for a quarter of an hour the instructor gathered his group around him and explained to them the reason for every single thing they had been doing that day. After

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4.30 they were entirely free citizens to do what they liked and go where they liked, but they had to be back at work again next morning at 8 o'clock. Their weekends were their own and as I watched them just before Whitsuntide they were getting ready, almost all of them, to go by the cheapest omnibus route to Whitehaven or to Cardiff, to Spennymoor or to Liverpool for the Bank Holiday.

They had no money of their own, these boys on the dole, but relatives at home all subscribed a half-crown here or a shilling there to make up the boy's fare home for a break in the six months. They got no pay—only their keep; but they were given pocket money that amounted to 2s. a week for the boys at a training centre while they were still living at home; and when they were in a training centre away from home their allowance was 4s. a week. Their upkeep cost to the State worked out at about 30s. per head per week over and above the weekly benefit. But that cannot be considered too much for six months, when even in 1933, in the most difficult period of depression, over 80 per cent. of all trainees were placed. To-day still more are finding work through the good offices of special officials sent round to canvass for them, and through employers who come round to the centres—some, as at Park Royal, from the factories down the street—and interview the men in rooms specially set aside.

Park Royal has one specialised form of training in addition to that of engineering, motor work, and cabinet making. It trains waiters forty at a time. The boys learn first on dummy tables with instructors. After that they appear in the restaurant which is run by the centre.

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It is open to the public, serves extremely good, cheap food, and is entirely furnished by the trainees who are working on the furniture side. The waiters, looking extremely smart, line up round the hall, and wait on people from the local factories who completely fill the restaurant each day. Afterwards, almost all these boys are placed with the very best hotels in London, the manager not allowing them to obtain anything but good employment.

I found all the men when they come in get a six weeks' course of general education, called a 'refresher course', lasting two hours a week. To quote from the large numbers of letters of thanks from the men and from the trainees making good on their own and so needing to employ others, and in doing so asking the manager to send them other trainees, would convince that nothing more constructive than these centres, or a more happy idea, could have been conceived for the unemployed men in the distressed areas.

After visiting the training centres I went to what abroad would be more correctly termed the Labour Camps. Here we call them the Government Instructional Centres, the largest group being in Norfolk and Suffolk, in camps that were already there for training young men for the Dominions in more prosperous days before 1930.

The camps I visited usually consisted of a group of huts, often built round a square not unlike a barrack. The boys had their own dormitories. I ate excellent food, and noticed a free-and-easy spirit that was not so visible in the German camps, but was equally to be found in the Austrian ones. Boys from South Wales told me, some that they had six more weeks in front of them and they

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wished it was six months, others that they were learning to dig and prepare a bit of land, and how they wished they could have some form of allotment when they got back to Cardiff on which to practise what they had learnt.

The camps used to be called reconditioning centres; then somebody discovered reconditioning had a meaning in the old days that might savour of force or humiliation, and so the Ministry changed the name to instructional.

The instructional, or reconditioning, centres take boys from eighteen upwards, to a camp usually near some Government land where afforestation is in progress. Here the boys live in huts for about twelve weeks, and all is done to make them fit and cheerful again. That is all. Roughly, they spend one week in the kitchen, one week doing woodwork, one week on a very elementary educational course, another week on 'camp site', that is, looking after the buildings, the paths, etc. The rest of the time they spend actually working on the land. They may do trenching, if they are strongly built, or drainage work for forestry, or construct fire rides or do work on metalled roads; some do gravel pit work, others are in a quarry, and yet more are at forestry clearing.

I stayed with them a bit, and, of course, there were grievances. But there were no grievances against the 'personnel' of the staff. In Norfolk, in Suffolk, and up at Hamsterley in Durham—everywhere the right men seemed to be in charge and immensely popular. Some boys complained of the food, but only because it was not the same as they got at home. Most complained that they must go home again to stand at street corners; only a few seemed homesick after the first few weeks. Letters by

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the dozen could be quoted from boys who have since got jobs testifying that, coming as they did from areas suffering from long depression, their physique had been such that, but for the twelve weeks in camp, they could never have got their present job and still less have been able to stand the strain of work for a prolonged period.

In camp the men get no wage, only their lodging, keep, work clothes, and 3s. a week pocket money. The cost to the State is 8s. plus benefit a week a head, as compared with 30s. plus benefit for a training centre; and the cost of starting a camp is anything between £8,000 and £12,000.

Earlier in this chapter, I took the date of 1934 as a good date for describing the position of the Training Centres and the Instructional Centres in this country. The reason for this is that about that time certain unscrupulous elements in the Socialist Party decided to raise an agitation against these camps, to call them Slave Camps and Concentration Camps, run on German lines. This did a certain amount of harm to the Instructional Centres in this country; but by now that has been more or less forgotten and the camps have increased in number and are again filling up. While the agitation was going on, the fellows in the camps entered into the spirit of the thing with a typical sense of humour. For instance when a new batch of trainees arrived in one camp, several of the fellows who had been there for a considerable time whitened their faces, and looking out of the windows of one of the rooms, groaned to the arrivals: "We're locked in here and we are being starved." On another occasion, the frightened 'new' boys were taken down to a Pit where three men lay, pretending they were dead. The Labour

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Camp spirit seems not so different from the Public School spirit for ragging!

The authorities find that whenever a batch of young men return from the country camps to their homes, there is usually a rush of applications from some others; but even so, the applications are nothing like as great in number as might be desired. There are many reasons for this, as regards the Instructional Centres, but possibly the main reason is the following: unemployment has now gone on for over ten years in many parts of the country, and for a number of years, little or nothing was done to help the people in those districts; they were left to their own devices to alter their mode of living, and now they have done so. They have cut down where they have felt they wanted to and they have economised where they have had to; the result is, especially in South Wales, an entirely new standard of living. Then the Ministry of Labour officials came along and asked the men to go off to a camp in the country, where they would be made fit again. The men's answer is a very fair one; they point out that the Ministry is not guaranteeing them a job at the end of the time, but is merely telling them that for a period of twelve weeks they will live a healthy life with regular hours and good food. They point out that the good food will nearly make them sick at first, and after they have got accustomed to it, life will be all the more miserable after twelve weeks when they go back to their homes and have to adapt themselves again to living just above the starvation level. In fact they have resigned themselves and they see no reason why they should be temporarily disturbed.

In many districts of the country there are additional

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arguments, such as the fact that the men have allotments and these allotments will go to ruin if no one looks after them for twelve weeks. Others in South Wales, have the right, allowed them by the companies, of getting their own coal from the Tips; but the company insists that only the ex-employees shall have the right to get it, their brothers or sons or cousins cannot do so, so who will collect the coal while they are away? Another reason why the men don't want to go, is that most of the camps are a long way away from any town; this means it is most unlikely that any employer will come out there to look for workers. All these arguments apply mostly to older people and once the men do go there and take the plunge, they are reasonably contented. I took the figures the other day from a Norfolk Centre and found that with 177 men working there, 119 of them were married and 58 were single, out of that number 53 had been out of employment for one year or under, 26 for two years, 17 for three years, 17 for four years, 13 for five years, 16 for six years, 16 for seven years, 8 for eight years, 4 for nine years, 2 for ten years, 4 for eleven years and 1 for twelve years; it seemed awful to think that five of those men had been unemployed for at least eleven consecutive years. Of their ages I found that seven of them were under twenty-one, thirty-two were aged from twenty-one to twenty-five and the largest number, forty-four were aged from twenty-six to thirty, while the next largest thirty-nine were aged from thirty-one to thirty-five, another thirty-two were aged from thirty-six to forty and as many as twenty-two were aged from forty-one to forty-five, whilst there was one man over forty-five. Only one man had eight children dependent on him, two

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of them had seven, seven of them had six, six of them had five children, nineteen had four children, twenty-six had three children, twenty-two had two children and thirty of them had one child. I found that the average increase in weight over the period of twelve weeks was as much as nine pounds. They came almost all of them, from Durham and Northumberland, forty-six coming from Gateshead alone. And in two groups of twelve weeks each, I found that forty-seven had actually obtained work, but the Government does not guarantee it, and that is why so many are unwilling to risk the period away from home. There is still, I think, a great deal of enthusiasm amongst men in control of these centres, but they do find it an appalling handicap that the unemployed men coming to the camps are so absolutely independent, and can walk out any day they like, and when they get home, the Unemployment Assistance Board has still practically got to give them an allowance; the officials in the camp have practically no authority other than their personality.

If these camps are to go on and to be developed and to be in any way worth while, then some form of discipline will have to be insisted upon. It is true that the Minister has the power to-day to employ compulsion in sending people to these centres, but that compulsion has never been used except when the Socialist Government was in Power from 1929 to 1931.

In many ways, the Training Centres near and in the towns have been more successful and have certainly been more popular. The people feel that it is worth their while to give up their allotments or to give up the getting of coal and to change their lives if they go to a Training

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Centre. There they are practically guaranteed a job, over ninety per cent. of the employees being placed; this is proof enough to my mind that the majority of unemployed want work. It is also probably the first step towards a Government training for industry which is gradually taking the place of the system of apprenticeship in this country. It was not until trade union officials found their own sons, in some cases, going to these training centres that they began to take an interest in them, and as far as I know they have not found any serious faults. The development of these centres has gone on steadily throughout the last few years; but the main difficulty has always been, that however hard the Ministry of Labour officials tried to make sure that the men going to these centres were really suitable for the jobs they suggested they wanted, many misfits were found and time was wasted in the restarting of men in other branches. As a result, in the summer of 1937, the Ministry of Labour started three new centres which they called "local training centres", two of these are in South Wales and one in Spennymoor, Durham. A new one will shortly be opened on the edge of the Government Trading Estate near Cardiff.

The idea of these centres is that the men shall go there for twelve weeks while still living in their own homes; a bus fetches them in the morning and takes them back in the evening. While in these centres the men will be tried out at the new crafts they wish to learn and the Principal will decide whether he thinks it worth while for them to go on from there to a proper training centre for a full six months' course. While there, the men have elementary lectures in mathematics and drawing and even spelling,

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and they also go in for physical training. To see these men stripped for physical drill, after one has seen the young men in other countries of the World, is a shock, not easily forgotten. Only then can you realise the awful undernourishment of some of the people in this country, and at moments it makes you hesitate in your belief that it is better to let people lead their own lives rather than to make them into healthy human beings.

The biggest difference between these centres and the ordinary training centres is that in the local ones, there is a very complete medical examination and free dentures and spectacles are also given. There is an inevitable element of young men who have heard that they can get a free visit to the dentist and apply to go to the training centre for that reason alone; as soon as their teeth are all right they refuse to come any more. But those numbers are few and far between. The Principal of the centre tells me that he always lectures the young men on their arrival, about the subject of the lunch they are going to get and the vitamins that are in the food; this satisfies the men and they almost all eat without grumbling. They are becoming keener and in February of this year, while I was visiting one such Centre in South Wales, two men walked in from Tredegar; they had come over ten miles on foot to do their work, after having missed the bus in the early morning; that showed keenness, for their pay is only 2s. a week over and above their keep. Some parents criticise these schemes; pointing out that the work done there necessitates the young men having a bigger breakfast than they would need if they were to hang around all day and their families cannot afford to give them that breakfast.

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This all points to the fact that there is still a horrible amount of unemployment in this country and that something will really have to be done to make the people help themselves a little more. The Government, to my mind, is perfectly right in not wishing to force too much on the people; but the conscience of the country itself must be woken up to get the people of the country to realise the waste of every kind that is going on all over Great Britain. Many of the unemployed have no knowledge whatsoever of how to cook properly or how to buy foods with the proper vitamins. All such knowledge seems to me alone possible through some form of National Service, when people are still young. If, as seems to be the case, that Service must be voluntary, then I'm certain it will have to be on a very elaborate scale to inspire enthusiasm in the younger generation.

To-day there are only 13 training centres and about 22 instructional centres. About 12,000 men could pass through the training centres each year. It is not yet enough.

CHAPTER VII

NATIONAL SERVICE

THE term Labour Camp, as my readers will by now have gathered, causes a considerable amount of confusion in this country. It seems to mean something totally different to each political group. The first fact that emerges from all the studies of the subject made quietly in this country in recent years, is that we are lacking in leaders amongst the younger generation, to an extent that is alarming when we compare this country with other leading European nations. If any form of National Service is to be instituted, leaders will have to be found for it first, and the study of the reason why modern education in this country does not seem to bring forth the necessary leaders, will have to be undertaken.

As far as I can see, the people who are keenest on a compulsory form of National Service are those who are Left Wing Liberals or Socialists. The Conservatives, almost to a man, want if possible the development of physical training and if necessary of National Service Camps to be entirely on a voluntary basis. The arguments I have heard used by sympathisers of Socialism are as follows: if you don't make this a compulsory service, then you will only have the best types going in for it and they will be sacrificed from the point of view of earning their daily bread. Numbers of their parents will say: "I quite agree that it is a good idea, but I will not let my son

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Young men of every class and every type should be encouraged by every form of propaganda that is possible to do one year's voluntary National Service between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. In this service, a youth would receive his keep and his clothing and only a nominal sum of pocket money, either two shillings or three shillings a week. He would be sent if possible away from England to some part of the Empire for a year. Suppose it were to Australia, then it would take a minimum of six weeks there and six weeks back, making three months at sea. During that time, the young men would travel out on ships specially equipped for the purpose. They would have frequent opportunities for physical training; they would have a number of lectures on citizenship; they could form themselves into Parliaments and Local Government Councils and the like; they could bring in Bills and pass them through, exactly as if it were the ordinary House of Commons; bit by bit they would learn of the intricacies of the Government of their country. As some would have to argue for the Socialist side and others for the Conservative side, they would gradually get to understand there are two sides to most questions. In the evenings they would be able to follow, with films, exactly what happens to the citizen after any typical incident, in other words they could see someone run over, the arrival of the ambulance, and the arrival of the policeman, the arrest of the dangerous driver, the proceedings in Court and the developments in the hospitals and so gradually get to know of the lives of every type in the country.

They need not go direct to Australia, they could stop for a few weeks in South Africa, or they could visit

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Malaya or Ceylon or Bombay. Once in Australia I can think of a number of jobs that could easily be found for them for six to nine months. They could have a healthy time in camps in the Northern Territories or in the Kimberleys of Western Australia or the Barclay Table Land of Queensland. They could clear the ground for settlers, they could help drain the country, they could make parts of Australia possible for habitation and development, which cannot be touched at present because of lack of Australian Government funds and lack of what would be practically free labour. Is there anything wrong in this? I cannot see it, since there is no other way to-day of developing those lands. The young men would not be over-worked, opportunities could be found for them to visit other parts of the Continent and if they wished to stay there they could, but they would be at perfect liberty to return to England on the boats on which they came out.

Others could go to Canada and those who for one reason or another preferred to stay at home, they too could easily be given enough to do in this country.

What would be the cost? It is impossible to work that out at the present moment, we would have to see how far the Dominion Governments were willing to co-operate. There should be at least a hundred and fifty thousand men ready to go over-seas. This would mean at least a hundred big ships and that would be the main expense. It would mean a boom in shipping and there would be the expenses of upkeep; there would be about another hundred thousand men who would not leave Great Britain, which makes two hundred and fifty thousand people, receiving 2s. a week and costing the

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country probably another 28s. a week. Supposing this made a total sum of £400,000 a week, that would be just over twenty millions a year. It sounds a colossal sum, but much of it would be saved on unemployment insurance and in many other indirect ways. The Empire, I think, could afford it and it might mean that at long last, the British Empire would forget that she is a group of entirely separate nations and realise how much each of us ought to have in common.

No such idea can be developed in this country without the preliminary training of leaders, even on a small scale, and to-day some new scheme ought to be worked out whereby leadership in National Service should be treated as it is in some countries, as a definite profession. Those who have the gift should be trained and after training, spend at least ten years in control of camps, after that they would be too old for such a job and they should be transferred into one of the Government offices as permanent officials.

I have left out of this survey the question of women in camps; their compulsory nature has not been, many people say, a success in Germany, but I would suggest that women in this country should be expected to do a course, from their own homes, of study as to the right kinds of food, the right way of bringing up children and also how to protect their houses in case of gas and air attack. Every woman that has gone through such a test should wear a badge and all such badges should be made in the different Distressed areas of this country to remind people that we must pull together a lot more than we do.

Lastly there is the case of people over twenty-five. It is for them as much as for the young boys, that the Govern-

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ment have up to now been working. Very little more can be done for them than is being done at the moment. Bit by bit the training centres are enabling them to study as apprentices for new trades. Bit by bit the National Council for Social Services with a strong financial backing from the Government, but working with complete independence, has been able to develop numbers of Community centres and clubs, to help these men to new lives. There again we see a lack of real leadership amongst the club members and it is worth studying what Germany is doing to-day to obtain new leaders and then to see whether we have yet got a proper nucleus in certain training schools to produce our own leaders in the near future.

CHAPTER VIII

TRAINING LEADERS

IT may seem that I am comparing England and Germany too much. I am trying to show how Great Britain has developed since the crisis of 1931, and I find Germany is the only other country with a somewhat similar background of culture and standard of living in Europe to show such a successful advance. But to Great Britain has been given prosperity; not so to Germany; and there are a great many people in England, especially in the Conservative Party, who forget this fact. They would have us copy Germany blindly, forgetting that we have no need to do this, or what it might entail. Others can see nothing good in Germany under the Nazis, forgetting that many of Germany's most successful recent achievements have been in the development of ideas of pre-Nazi days; ideas which we too have been trying out, though on different lines.

We are to-day trying to find leaders for social life quite outside politics and trying also to train young politicians. Half of us do not know we are doing this, but we are and I want to compare our method with those of the Germans.

What Hitler considers he needs is an organised body of leaders to teach the country what is to be its national political outlook. Since the Nationalist Socialist Party is

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now on a par with, and some say, above the State, there can obviously be only one Party. It has been decided that the Party shall have a definite line of thought on almost every subject, including social questions, which is comprised in the teaching of the Weltanschauung (World Outlook).

What that line of thought shall be is not yet decided in every detail, notably as regard religion, nor how it shall be taught.

In every Province or Gau of the new Germany there are at least three schools for training Nazis of every age, what their political beliefs should be. They have between forty and fifty students and are usually situated in some beautiful country surroundings. The students are young men and middle aged men, workers in industry or civil servants. They do a three weeks' course and are then expected to be able to go back to their groups and districts and explain the Nazi teaching which is popularly called abroad, "The Theory of Blood and Race".

Nobody can now join the Party and be a political leader, who cannot trace his ancestry back satisfactorily to A.D. 1800. It was about this time that Germans began to intermarry with Jews. The blood of every one at the school is thus satisfactory.

Every day the students do at least two hours physical training and sport, and they are taught how to organise sport meetings and also convivial evenings in the local club houses. They have two hours lecture in the morning, and two hours, with discussion in the afternoon. The rest of the day is free.

Their first lesson is in questions of heredity; the next in race questions; and after that come numerous lectures

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on "Volk", on the internationalism of Jewry and Freemasonry and on the proper teaching of history. Only in the last week are present day problems discussed.

The Volk (people) lectures discuss such thorny problems as sterilization, in-breeding, and the like. Combined with the race lectures, they give an impression that the World is divided up into Peoples, that each People has its own characteristics; that that is inside you, and is there whether you like it or not; you cannot get away from it and therefore you might just as well do the things that react best on people having such internal inclinations. Therefore the Germans are Nordic and have in no sense the same outlook as, say the French, who are Westerns, or as the Italians. The Nordic people, I gathered when I last visited a school, are not democratically inclined, and it is unwise to have them too much filled with book-learning.

Their forte is definitely sport, the open air life, and generally clean living. Too much dancing, feminine art and the like does them harm. The teachers with real enthusiasm, more than once explained to me, such teachings in no sense implied Imperialism. It would be unthinkable for a newly-well-educated German to marry a coloured person. "In England that is already the unwritten law, in Germany it still needs to be impressed." They would often go on to stress, that much that we resented in their new preaching of nationalism, has been for centuries taken for granted in Great Britain, and that the British people forget that the Germans are not yet accustomed to think nationally.

This would bring us to the numerous lectures on

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history. At first much stress was laid on the Stone and Prehistoric ages; then came lectures on the early Emperors. Here it was strongly stressed that great Nordic leaders, strengthened by their Nordic surroundings, went across the Elbe, and often as far as Rome, being ambitious to become Emperors. In doing this they lost their strength, drawn from their native soil, and sacrificed the interest of the German peasant. This brings the Nazi to Luther, who is looked on as a hero; but not as a religious hero. That side of his life does not come into discussion, except in so far as it shows him as a great German Rebel, against outside and international forces, and as the first man to consolidate into one, the "German language," a lot of dialects, which split the Germans into numerous foreign nations. In that way he was a precursor of Hitler, whose ambition it is, not only to break down the political differences in the German States, but to develop a national thought and patriotism. This link with Luther is followed through by descriptions of the rise of Prussia and the Hohenzollerns, the great North German leaders; and leads on to criticism of Rousseau and the influence of the French Western doctrines throughout the 19th Century, which led to Marxism and Bolshevism.

There are other lectures which show that the Nordic strain was eliminated from France; here, as examples, are cited the expulsion of the French Huguenots and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. There are lectures to show why the Greece of to-day has little to do with the great days of Athens; how the Nordic conquerors of India and Persia have died out; and the lesson of experience for the German people of to-day to be drawn from those mistakes of the past!

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It is felt that Germany has quite enough to do in developing her own race, and seeing that her citizens abroad do not degenerate, to be ever accused of Imperialism. The position of the Germans in other lands could be compared to a member of a family having certain peculiarities and going abroad. His family doctor, knowing all the family symptoms, and how liable they may be to be affected, say, by certain winds, tries to keep in touch with him and prescribe a suitable regime. If there are Nazis in Holland and England, it was pointed out to me, one must not forget that there are Nordic strains in both these countries and we ought to be interested to know what the Nordic specialists prescribe for such feelings.

As interesting as the teachings, is usually the teacher. Wherever I have met him he has been an enthusiast; usually he has taken part in the War. He will tell you quite frankly, that were it not for the present Revolution he would never have got where he is. He considers that he has got there because hide-bound tradition alone was his opponent and that he has been suppressed. His ideas are definitely socialist, his respect for deep international book learning is not great. He certainly does not want war for war's sake. Unlike the *nouveau riche* of most countries, he is not now able to travel about, nor to keep in touch with foreign opinion, except through the censored press. He is therefore, saturated with the teaching he is teaching and has heard no contradiction of such teaching that has not been prefixed with a condemnation of such criticism from someone he genuinely respects. He gets his theories and his policies from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and from Rosenberg's books and

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speeches; supplemented by articles in a fortnightly journal circulated from Berlin.

He teaches all this with a very real enthusiasm, to a possibly rather surprised and confused middle aged German citizen, but he couples with it theories on the present day, which it is as well for foreigners to realise, most middle-aged and other Germans, believe to be true, and agree with, namely that Germany cannot live without raw materials and colonies; that Germany is as great as other nations and never really lost the War in the field and will not be satisfied until she is treated as everybody's equal; and that she is surrounded by Communistically inclined enemies. All this the average German believes already, and so he is likely, at least to take on chance, those newer theories I have earlier enumerated. Coming from the same source, he feels they may be necessary for a new Germany, as they seem to combine with pride of race, health and possible work, as well as a desire for peace, which is in every German who fought in the War. Such are the Germans who are teaching the Youth and the Middle-Aged to-day what they in turn shall teach to-morrow. They may be wrong, but their enthusiasm should be understood in all our dealings with them.

Better trained than these enthusiastic leaders, are the 250,000 young men in the S.S., Himmler's Black Guards. These men are gradually being placed in key positions throughout the country. What they are learning is in itself a key to much of the future policy of Germany. They are not taught anything officially about religion; but unofficially the following can be said to be a rough outline of the creed of an S.S. man.

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Christianity was forced on Germany from the Orient, coming through Rome; the real German believes in a fine and noble paganism, which a little over a thousand years cannot eradicate, and the German will now naturally drift back to his Nordic ideas. The German must become a complete worshipper of this World, or as the S.S. term it, a "Yes Man of the World". By this is meant that we must not try and excuse suffering and inequality in this World by suggesting that the sufferers will have a better time in the next; every effort must be made that in this life a good time shall be enjoyed by all. This means that sickly beings must not be allowed to exist and therefore, if possible, must not be born. It means that if you have lost a limb in an accident, you must not resign yourself to the loss, but everything must be done to find you fresh employment and to develop your other limbs and senses, so that the loss can be ignored. Lastly, a definite standard of living and contentment must be found for the nation; and until every living being has reached that level, no wealthier people must be allowed to exist. Obviously this cannot be put into practise in a day, but it is a socialistic object for which the S.S. are working. Physical fitness is almost madly encouraged and any sign of lack of manliness is to be eradicated from the people.

One of the chief signs of lack of manliness, the S.S. tell us, is Christianity; and bending the knee or confessing to a priest, dressed in many ways like a woman, is to be anathema. The Ten Commandments are disapproved of because they are so obviously Jewish; they are Jewish because they suggest that if you keep them you will receive a hundred per cent. reward. Christ is admitted to

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have been a great Man, but as I have been frequently told, there was no stenographer present whenever He spoke; and what He said has merely been written down by a number of Jewish writers. There is much that is good in the Ten Commandments, but a Nordic Pagan will do such things naturally and without any desire for reward. Moreover, the Nordic must refuse to recognise the Virgin Birth, for that would mean an insult to the purity of every German mother, since it would imply something wrong in sleeping with one's husband. German children are to look on their parents and their parents' ancestors, with something like the awe of ancestor worship in Japan. The S.S. man is also taught that it has never been his destiny to populate countries south of the Alps, and in that way he must never look on colonies as anything else but sources from which to draw the raw materials for use inside a Nordic State. If the Germans must spread, they must move to the east, and to my mind, everything in the S.S. teaching points to an eventual friendship, and even alliance, with Russia. Though, for face-saving purposes, it would have to be an altered Russia, but not so much altered as many people imagine. •

Even these 250,000 men are not to be the absolute First Line leaders of the new Germany; these are to come from the four Fuhrer schools, one in each part of Germany.

The German Government has decided to have these Fuhrer schools where young men are to be trained to be the political leaders of the country. There are a thousand young men in each school, who stay one year. They go from one to the other, which means that the course lasts

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four years and there are 4,000 men training at a time. After these young men have finished their training, they are to go out into all the key positions of the country, and to teach the other German people the ideas of what is called the Nazi Weltanschauung, which means World Outlook.

The boys will first go to the school in Pomerania, about four hours north of Berlin. The school there is built entirely of local wood. After they have finished a year in that school they go across Germany to the second one, near the Belgian border. Here the school is built entirely of local stone. And then they go down for a third year to the school near Lake Constance, in Bavaria. Finally, they spend the fourth year at Marienburg on the eastern border, and that has a special significance which I will mention later.

Just at the moment, the young men are chosen from the ordinary Party organisations. The plan for the future is as follows: small boys of the very best type will be taken at the age of ten and sent to special schools until they are eighteen years old. Then they go into the Labour Camps for six months, then into the Army for two years, and after that into a profession for another year. During this last year they are supposed to get married; and then, just before they are twenty-four years old, the pick of the country are to be sent to these Fuhrer schools. Up till now these young men have been known as Junkers, which literally means, young gentlemen. In the last few months they have decided to call the young men Prospective Leaders.

These boys must all be of a certain height and a certain chest measurement, and their Aryan ancestry must be

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proved right back to before 1800; they must be good Nordics. In each of the schools they must show themselves to be physically brave. Not only must they box and fence and play every kind of rough sport, but they are taken up in aeroplanes to a great height, are then given parachutes and told: "Now jump out and see if you can land." It was explained to me that if the young men are not willing to jump out they need not, but when they come down they are asked to leave the school and will have to face their wives when they come home. I was told that hotels will soon be built by the "Strength Through Joy" Movement near these four schools, where the wives can come and spend a few days with their husbands. And each year the men are allowed home for some months, so that they shall not lose touch with the everyday people of the country.

In the first school in Pomerania, these young men are taught only the history of the Stone Age and the Iron Age, so that they can learn what is considered in Germany to be the real origin of mankind. And they also study race and biological questions, trying out experiments, not so much on men as on flies. In the second year, near Belgium, they learn a new version of history, and the general criticisms of what is called "Political Christianity", which I understand is a criticism of the Protestant religions as well as the Catholic. In the Bavarian school they study Nazi politics and race problems again. And when they go to the Polish border they are taught propaganda and the development of the Nazi Eastern policy, as outlined by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*.

The buildings have been built on a lavish scale, regardless of expense, the gift of the Labour Organisation to

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Hitler. Their massive beauty is impressive; they are simple and severe and have a Wagnerian atmosphere as you look out over the mountains and forests. Each has its own band to play martial music every day. Bomb-proof shelters from enemy aircraft have not been forgotten in the plans. The schools are deliberately built in the four different parts of Germany, to accustom the young men to the different mentalities of the nation. Their libraries are stocked with books on Bolshevism, the East and Colonial problems. The young men are told that they form a Nordic Crusading Order like that of the Knights Templar of old.

For the time being such teaching has sufficed; but for the future Hitler requires for his country's leaders, children trained from the age of ten. For three years, he has had an experimental school working in Potsdam. Modelled on that, there are now to be started fifteen special schools throughout the Reich, and thirty-two, what might be termed semi-special schools, one in each province of Germany. From these, starting in the sixth year in the Nazi Regime, at the age of ten, will grow up the future perfect Nordics, who will only become leaders eighteen years hence, at the age of twenty-eight. As an elderly German Nazi put it to me: "We can never have the complete Nazi World Outlook, for we have been contaminated with foreigners, with Socialists and with Democrats. These boys will grow up unpolluted, and should one day be the finest specimens of manhood in the World."

Given a long enough continuance of the Nazi Regime in Germany, these boys, with their new training, will one day come into power, and what the Nazi Party has

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decided to launch as its effort for the sixth year of the Regime, may both, directly and indirectly have a far more far-reaching effect on the World as a whole, than anything Hitler has yet done. In his search for new leaders, Hitler is developing something the World has not known amongst civilised Whites for over a thousand years; and these new leaders, unaccustomed to think for themselves, will differ from their thousand-year predecessors, in that they will have power over modern inventions, both constructive and destructive.

As against this, what are our Conservatives doing in this country to develop our political leaders of tomorrow?

CHAPTER IX

TRAINING CONSERVATIVES

WHEREAS in a Totalitarian State, there is only one Party allowed to exist, and therefore, only one type of school for training politicians, there are in Democratic countries at least three Parties and usually more. The Totalitarian States can never admit that their one Party is wrong which means that other countries must be held responsible for anything not working smoothly in these States. In Great Britain, each Party is able to accuse the other Party of being responsible for what is wrong; but I think it would be fair to say that this country is sufficiently tolerant to be unwilling to see everything wrong in any one Party. At the same time nothing could ever be done if certain stalwarts were not almost fanatically certain of the righteousness of their cause.

Until recently, the Parties did not attempt to have any training centre for their political local leaders; that was probably due to our inherent conservatism, which makes the majority of children take it for granted that they should belong to the same Party as their parents and their grandparents. The post-War problems have however, been far too acute and have come one on top of each other with such rapidity, that politics have almost become a profession, and to understand what is going on and

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why it is going on, necessitates definite periods of study. Moreover, the new voters have no hereditary party allegiance.

The Conservative Party provides the Young Britons' Organisation for small children and the Junior Imperial League for the younger men and women of the Party. It cannot, however, be said that the Junior Imperial League as yet plays any important part in the councils of the Conservative Party; a fact which, to my mind, is greatly to be deplored. The League has its own monthly newspaper, and has a branch in almost every Constituency in the country; its members meet for debates, mock-trials and to dance. Its more enthusiastic members even go to the extent of attending weekend schools, with about three or four lectures, held once or twice a year. And finally the best members of the organisation are sent for a week's course to the Bonar Law College at Ashridge. It is an odd thing, for which there would seem at the moment little explanation, that after these young people have attended such a course, many in the North of England cease to take an active part in political life. My own opinion is that they have been led to think that the final ambition of a member of the Junior Imperial League is to get to Ashridge and that the slackness is only temporary. When the member comes back to his or her Constituency, it is to find that the next step is a very junior influence in the local Party Organisation in which you must start again from the bottom. If only the older Conservatives would take a little more interest and listen as seriously to the ideas of young people, back from Ashridge, as they do to more out of date retired supporters with large cheque books, there might be more

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progressive activity in the Conservative Party and one might be able to feel that our younger generation were being as thoroughly prepared in our own way, to take over control of this country's destiny, as are the younger generations in other parts of the World.

After the Great War, the leaders of all the Parties turned to the universities, in the hope that they would be able to find there supporters of their own ideas; at the same time it was hoped these young people would themselves be able to teach their elders a little bit about the post-War mentality. It was, I think, my good luck to go up to Oxford a little over two years after the War. There were still there the ex-officers and men who had gone through the fighting; there were even older undergraduates who had not completed their courses in 1914, and had come back for a final period; and there were the vast majority of boys of my own age, who had passed their school days in a war time atmosphere and were very uncertain about their own future. As I look round today, seventeen years afterwards, it seems to me that most of those I knew have done very much what they intended to do, and have followed careers which had probably been expected of them, even as small children before the Great War.

All three Parties decided after the War, in Oxford, to revive the old debating clubs of their political beliefs. The Socialists and the Liberals had got almost complete control of the Union, and with the exception of such stalwarts as Victor Cazalet and the late Edward Marjoribanks, most Conservatives, who were at all interested in politics, decided to confine their activities to meetings of the Canning Club and the Chatham Club.

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These were two old organisations inspired by Disraeli and had begun their careers as clubs over fifty years before. Neither club had more than twenty-five members; they met once a week in the rooms each time of a different member, that member was host and Chairman for the evening and amongst the things he had to provide, were Mulled Claret, drunk with much ceremony out of a loving cup, and snuff and ordinary refreshments. There was therefore, never a Chairman for the Club, such position being always held by the host of the evening; and the secretary elected each year, was to all intents and purposes, the only official. A Paper was read by one of the members on a topic of the day and was followed by a debate. In Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet of 1924, no less than eight members of that Cabinet had at one time belonged to either the Canning or the Chatham Club. It was not surprising, therefore, that we often had very interesting debates, since old members of the Club would gladly spare an evening to come down from London, dine with us, and tell the members all about world affairs behind the-scenes. Annually we had our dinner, and we used to watch with interest, the leaders who came down to keep an eye on us.

We also had a bigger and more modernly conceived Club with its own premises in the Oxford Carlton Club. During the Coalition Government period, the secretary Edward Marjoribanks, who was afterwards to write such brilliant biographies and to die so tragically, arranged the dinners. Once he placed Lord Salisbury in the Chair, with Lord Middleton a little further down the table, on the left; to the right, were Lord Birkenhead, the Duke of Marlborough and the Roman Catholic

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Chaplain, Monsignor Barnes. This was the time when the Duke of Marlborough was having difficulty over the annulment of his wedding and was hoping to enter the Roman Catholic Church. Both he and Monsignor Barnes were barely on speaking terms. This was also the time when the Conservatives largely led by Lord Salisbury and Lord Midleton's Group, were bitterly antagonistic to the Coalition of which Lord Birkenhead was such a prominent member. The atmosphere at that top table was, to say the least of it, electric; and it was made none the easier by Lord Birkenhead. After he had made two references to Lord Salisbury, he turned to the Chairman, the present Lord Salisbury and with a slight bow, said: "Of course, I am referring to the *great* Lord Salisbury."

Such incidents made us feel we were gradually moving into the centre of National life and we began to think a very great deal of ourselves. A few weeks later, Lord Birkenhead, who lived near Oxford, dropped in, as was often his custom, to the Union, in the middle of a debate. He was clapped on his arrival; the young man who was speaking and who to-day is a Member of Parliament, stopped dead; when the noise was over, the young man continued: "As I was saying, before this unusual interruption."

The next year it was the turn of the Chatham Club to organise the Annual Dinner. We wrote to Mr. Bonar Law, and he answered very politely, that he was too sick a man to accept any outside engagements. We tried the Duke of Devonshire, the present Lord Swinton and several others; none of them could manage the date. At last, we got a letter from the only Minister, with the exception of the Duke of Devonshire, who had taken

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the trouble to answer in his own handwriting. The Minister was the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baldwin. It was essential for us, that the dinner should be a financial success, and every one of the Committee felt nervous lest this comparatively unknown Minister should not be a sufficient draw. Three weeks before the dinner, when the tickets were selling ominously badly, Mr. Bonar Law resigned; Mr. Baldwin became Prime Minister. I'm afraid we did not feel very worried or interested about the future significance of this event for England, we merely realised that our dinner was saved and soon the tickets were sold out.

Then came a ghastly blow, a letter from Mr. Baldwin's secretary, that in view of the fact that he had become Prime Minister, he would now, for the next few months, be so busy, it would be quite impossible for him to carry out his engagement to be present at the Oxford dinner. Our hearts were in our boots, I went straight to the President of my College, Magdalen, the late Sir Herbert Warren. By a stroke of good luck, I had previously got him to offer to put Mr. Baldwin up for the night; he was most sympathetic about our dilemma; his first remark was: "I had expected you to get me angels, but never arch-angels." He said he would think the matter over, and asked me to come back in half an hour. When I returned, there was a much more cheerful look on his face. "Didn't you mention to me that Mr. Lloyd George is also coming down next week to talk to the young Liberals, and tell them about the political situation?" said the President. I told him that was true. "Well then," continued Sir Herbert, "I will myself write to the Prime Minister's secretary, who is an old Magdalen man,

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and point out to him and Mr. Baldwin, that Mr. Lloyd George is coming here. I do not think Mr. Baldwin considers Mr. Lloyd George a very good influence."

Two days later, we received a letter to say that Mr. Baldwin would make an exception on condition that we would break our own rule and invite the press. He came and made his first speech outside the House of Commons, as Prime Minister of England. We had the biggest hall and an enthusiastic meeting. Mr. Lloyd George spoke three days later in one of the luncheon rooms of a local hotel.

It is interesting to-day, to recall an incident of Mr. Baldwin's dinner. Several Conservative undergraduates, who were considered extremely intelligent and who are fast making their names in different walks of life, but who were not well off, came to me before the dinner, and asked me, in any speech I was going to make, to refer to the fact that Conservatives never seemed willing to finance enthusiastic and possible future politicians. They pointed out that the Liberal leaders and the Socialist leaders, had for ages kept their eyes on the universities and had offered all sorts of jobs to what seemed promising future material; they watched over these young men and insisted on their making a political career and they also made it possible for them to do so. During dinner, Mr. Baldwin referred in private conversations to the fact that politics was now becoming so much of a whole time job, people in the Conservative Party would have to learn to specialise and to make out of politics a permanent career. In the few words I had to say towards the end of the evening, I brought up this question of lack of financial support for those people in the Conservative

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Party, who wanted more than anything else to make politics their career. I was to be answered by Sir Stanley Jackson, at that time the Chairman of the Conservative Central Offices, whose job it is to give the official imprimatur to Conservative Parliamentary candidates. In his speech he did not refer to my question at all.

Next morning, seeing him off on the railway platform, I put him the question again; for I knew it was no exaggeration to say that at least three young men were waiting for the answer, before they decided on their future life's work. Sir Stanley replied that there were so many well-to-do young men willing to stand for Parliament or whose parents would be willing to finance them in order that they should have something to do, while they were young, that the Conservative Party did not feel it worth while or necessary to spend money on young men whose future success would only be a gamble. He pointed to the Prime Minister, walking just ahead of us. "There," said he, "is a proof of what I am saying. For fifteen years that man sat on a Back Bench and no one knew he was going to do anything great. Our leaders will always crop up when we need them."

This may be so, but all that I do know, is that not one of the young men who were interested at that time, has to-day gone into politics and yet everyone of them, considering their ages, have been outstanding successes in the jobs they have taken up. On the other hand, looking at a photograph of that dinner, I can count eight young men who are to-day Members of Parliament, but who never took the slightest interest in politics at Oxford and would never then do a hand's turn to help the Conservative clubs. One of them I remember well, used to

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tell me what a bore politics was, and at least two of them, now in the House, have hardly ever opened their lips since they were elected seven years ago. On the other hand, of the same type, in the Liberal clubs and in the Socialist clubs, many have been supported into politics and are to-day proving a great success.

About this time the Conservative Party started the Philip Stott College, which a few years later, through the munificence of Lord Fairhaven's father was superseded by the Bonar Law College at Ashridge. In most countries of Europe you have got political clubs and groups at the universities, just as I have described; but political colleges, except on the lines of the Danish Folk Schools, are comparatively new. Germany, which has now suppressed all the old-time clubs in the universities and elsewhere, has brought the political college to an amazing pitch of efficiency. In it however, the future political leaders are not asked to do any serious thinking, but to memorise as much as possible; there is nothing more instructional than to come straight from a Fuhrer school in Germany to a week-end at the Bonar Law College at Ashridge.

The first thing you will be given to understand, if you inquire on arrival, is that this college is not run by the Conservative Central Offices, but has its own Board of Control and is quite capable of producing a good deal of independent thought, without referring at all to Party Headquarters. To a foreigner, this may sound unbelievable and a piece of typical British hypocrisy, yet in actual fact it is true and is yet one more proof of our genius for governing ourselves and not abusing free speech.

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People come to Ashridge from all over England and Scotland; they are chosen from their Constituency if they cannot pay for themselves. If however, they can afford so to do, all that is required is some proof that they are Conservative, though I believe, on occasion, others have been allowed to come there. There are long courses and short courses, some of them lasting only a week-end, and every type and class is to be found there; you are supposed to get up when the bell rings; Chapel is voluntary, but you must be down in time for breakfast. People are not encouraged to sit at the same table or with the same people all the time. There are two lectures in the morning and usually one before dinner and one after dinner. The rest of the time one can play games, go about the country-side or read in the library. There is no outward sign of any strict discipline, but certain rules are supposed to be kept and are certainly not severe. People are allowed to ask the lecturers questions and usually debates are organised amongst the students themselves. There is no special physical training and no tests of courage such as jumping out of aeroplanes, as the younger men are expected to do in Germany. Every type of lecturer is encouraged to come down and it is quite possible to hear the Duchess of Atholl speak on Spain one morning, and to find her completely contradicted by Mr. Douglas Jerrold the next.

I would be the last person to say that Ashridge has yet proved that that is all that is needed for the developing of Conservative local leaders; nor is that altogether one of its ambitions; but at least it is a place where it is possible for people to go and study objectively, the policy of the Party governing England to-day, always given, of course,

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that the people, so studying, have some background of fixed ideas, else they will get nowhere.

I remember, not long ago, discussing this point with the Director of Weltanschauung ideas in Herr Himmler's Black Guard, and with one of Herr von Ribbentrop's staff for bringing about an Anglo-German understanding. Herr Himmler's man said: "Are you on our side or not?" I replied that I was on no side, but that I wanted to get an objective understanding of the position in Germany. He replied that no such thing was possible and that unless I was on his side, he did not wish to develop the argument of his beliefs. The man from the Ribbentrop Bureau then stepped in to point out that what I was saying was very typical of English and American mentality. He said: "They always want to study both sides of the question, and then somehow or another, they do seem able to come to a decision, because they have got, even in their own minds, some sort of principals from which they start." To which the other man replied, that that was all rubbish and quite unnatural; he even thought it showed signs of a degenerate mentality.

It may show a degenerate mentality, if we never make up our minds; that is the one danger I see in Ashridge, a danger that we may all come away from such meetings without having anywhere else to follow up the discussion, not only undecided but realising that we and our neighbours are more undecided than we thought we were. Here, indeed, is where leadership is needed.

The answer of the powers that be, is that it would be a very dangerous thing to have in existence a college, working out a policy for the Party, when there is a

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perfectly good Party machine and group of Party leaders to do just that very thing. This is not the place to make any suggestions along those lines, but if I try to show that we have got a toleration in this country which is almost unequalled in any other, and that we are probably as a result, taken all in all, much better off than in any other country, I still do not want people to put this book down with a feeling that all is well. Toleration in many Democracies is leading to disintegration; it was the lack of understanding of toleration in the comparatively young Democracies of Germany and Italy that brought about the chaos which in itself alone enabled Mussolini and Hitler to rise to power. Their States are now openly and contemptuously attacking our democratic system, and our toleration may be at moments going a little too far.

I understand that the leaders of the Conservative Party are to-day far more convinced than they were at the time of Mr. Baldwin's Dinner in Oxford in 1923, to which I have referred, that the Parliamentary system of Government needs all the brains and workers it can get; and if there are young and intelligent university and other men, willing to devote their lives to politics, but lacking in the funds demanded by a definitely pre-War standard, then either that standard must be got rid of, or else the funds must be found to put these young men into Parliament for Constituencies, where they will be in safety for some years.

Toleration has allowed these Party leaders to be over-ruled by local Party Executives who will not put their own hands in their pockets, and prefer a hospital subscription or a football subscription to a man who wants

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to work for them, and for the country as well. Similarly, toleration may not want us to teach too strict or too definite a policy in the political schools of the country; but again, when the negative elements of destruction are perfectly aware of exactly what they want and how they are going to get it, it then becomes time for a group of people in this country, who will work in every Constituency to be taught and to be educated in a clear and concise political doctrine. And one of the main things this group must know and stress is how much better off the working man is in this country to many others, and how careful he must be not to lose this advantage by asking for the moon.

To my mind, the Conservatives are better guardians of the freedom of the working man to develop himself in this country than are the Socialists. Anyone who knows the leaders in Germany, Italy or Russia, knows perfectly well that they are all Socialists themselves and not in the least interested in the freedom of the individual. If the Socialists came to Power in this country again, there would be a long period of muddle, followed by a reaction to dictatorial methods, which might come from the Left or the Right, but would most likely eventually end up in a Left dictatorship. In fact, it is not unfair to say that the Socialists who most ardently attack and detest Hitler and Mussolini, are themselves far more warlike than either of these gentlemen and are heading this country for just the same kind of dictatorship, under one of their own leaders.

To prevent such a development in the country, places similar to Ashridge are needed and are needed to a far larger extent than we have got them at the moment. But

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at the same time there has been another element working in this country since the Great War, but most especially since the Slump. It has nothing to do with Party politics, it is only interested in the old British tradition of freedom and independence and it is gaining every day in strength. I refer to the development of Community Centres and Clubs, partially for the unemployed and partially for those in work. These Centres have been developing slowly, but surely under the auspices of a not very well-known organisation, The National Council for Social Services.

They have their own training college at King's Standor, where workers in the local clubs go for a course to learn how to be leaders in Social Service. Subsidiary training centres are being started up in the more distressed areas of Great Britain in one-time beautiful County homes. The courses and the students who go to these schools lead one to hope that we are developing a new kind of workers' college, devoid I hope of political bias, if that is possible, and producing men and women capable of leadership in their own village or municipality.

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years—for the East Lincolnshire population is a nomad population—they move about, all nonconformists, in an area that is only bounded and restricted by their religious influence. They keep within their nonconformist area, but never long in the same village.

In the Lindsay Rural Area of Lincoln—lectures have been a tremendous success with all the country folk and a list of the subjects for one winter is worth looking at:

1, Lincolnshire, Past and Present; 2, Rocks of Lincolnshire; 3, The Wolds and the Fens; 4, Rivers and Marshes of Lincolnshire; 5, Local History of Lincolnshire; 6, Lincolnshire Castles and Castle Life; 7, Objects of interest in Lincoln; 8, The Changes in Constitution of Village Life; 9, The Wesleys; 10, Captain John Smith; 11, St. Hugh of Lincoln; 12, "Some Dickens Characters"; 13, Robert Burns; 14, Bird Life in the Antarctic.

Seeing that list, chosen by the villagers themselves, who can suggest a lack of interest amongst villagers in their own locality? It is an interest gradually spreading and soon it may reach the cities. In Scunthorpe, as an example of an industrial town, the type of lecture most favoured is on agricultural machinery and farmhands come in for miles to attend the series. And at Gainsborough, Health lectures brought a total attendance of 1,000 people to the series.

In the towns also are clubs run partially for the unemployed. The National Council for Social Services was given control of the Government grants to help these clubs in 1932. I found one such club in Lincoln, in a

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yard off a side street in a loft. You mounted a ladder stairs and found yourself in two rooms, devoted, when I arrived, entirely to carpentering. There were some sixty men working, all under the auspices of the secretary—himself a workman, who had been sent to Ruskin College, Oxford and later had worked there so hard that he had been able to continue his studies at Balliol. He was extremely pleasant, showing me everything, but first he insisted on stopping all the work in order that I be publicly introduced to all the members. This for me was an embarrassing moment—but it was their custom that nobody be shown around unless all the members knew exactly who he was and what he wanted. I just gave my name and said I was interested, without going into any details of what I was actually doing.

They showed me tables, and pictures, and toy doll's houses being made for their wives at home and for their children at Christmas. Every evening some of them went round to the local cinema and collected, so that five hundred children of the unemployed could go themselves to the cinema on Boxing Day; they planned that each child should be given a toy which they themselves were making. They had also mended over 8,000 pairs of shoes and boots, and the local cobblers were not worried; for they know that most of these men could not afford to come to them and have them mended, and would otherwise, with their families, have had to go almost barefooted in the wet weather. The members all pay a little something towards upkeep and they pay for the leather for the shoes, good leather at wholesale prices.

All over the country such clubs are functioning. They show amazing latent gifts in men, before unknown.

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Painters, scenic artists, poets, carpenters, they are all being developed out of men who, when they were not picking coal in the mines, or whatever was their job, had thought they could do nothing else but lean against the street walls, or drink, if rich enough, in the pubs. Others used to gamble with the money the family really needed for the new boots they are now making; needed for the meat safes their wives now get, or for the toy animals, and castles and ships their children break and re-make happily at home, forgetting a little bit that they once looked enviously at these toys through main-street plate-glass windows.

The men, too, feel happier, and in no German workshop have I seen more elaborate or attractive toys than in the loft in Lincoln, where the workman B.A. guided their efforts; or in the out-house at Middlesborough, where a genius showed fascinated ex-bus conductors, and once high paid employees of Dorman Long, how, with a little knowledge of mathematics, you could make wooden men and animals roll about on another piece of wood in uncanny fashion. And in Newcastle no finer toy model ships could be found than those skilled ex-Tyneside workers prepared for Christmas for their children or their younger brothers, in the Bensham Settlement.

Practical though these efforts are, giving every likelihood of the development in the years to come of a new form of workers' educational movement, you cannot help mentally or physically the people of this country nor can they help themselves unless they have good housing conditions.

The Government realises this and the magnitude of

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the problem. Their representatives have visited the great housing centres of Vienna, Denmark, Norway and Sweden as well as many others. Yet they claim the British effort is greater than them all. We have built in England and Wales since the Armistice, no less than three and a half million houses; no other country can equal this. Of that number the local authorities have built over one million houses.

The taxpayers have helped a lot in this. They have contributed since 1918, nearly £180,000,000 to better housing. The latest Housing Act will require £2,700,000 as an annual contribution from the Exchequer and the present commitments of the Exchequer amount to about £14,500,000 a year. In addition the housing work done by local authorities since the War, to which the Exchequer has made contributions, has involved a capital expenditure of £750,000,000. It is also worth remembering, the Exchequer has made it possible for the local authorities to let their million houses at a working class rent only costing the ratepayer about 3½d.

The most recent Act of this Government has provided for at least 80,000 new houses each year, an increase of 10,000 new houses this and future years, meaning that in five years the 400,000 extra new houses still needed for slum clearance and overcrowding will have been provided.

A special effort is also being made by this Government to provide cottages suitable for young agricultural workers—a very great need in the country and in addition to what the Government can do, the National Council for Social Services is stepping in to help with the more human side of the new housing estates.

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What the Council is doing can best be described in its own words in a pamphlet recently issued:

"More than three and a half million houses have been built since 1919, and about half of these are occupied by families whose income does not rise to above £4 a week. This mass rehousing of the population has raised the problems of 'neighbourhood' in an acute form, and for the past eight years the National Council has helped to foster experiments in the re-adjustment of the social life of the residents to their new and strange surroundings.

These experiments have demonstrated two facts which the National Council believes to be of great and increasing significance in the social life of our country. In the first place, neighbours living on new housing estates have shown their ability to come together to develop their common interests. Thus there have sprung up all kinds of groups and organisations composed of residents bent on furthering some common purpose—garden guilds, dramatic societies, cycling and football clubs, educational classes, clubs for young people.

Not only have these residents organised for themselves a new social environment, but they have often formed a common council or association which can represent and speak for the whole neighbourhood. These 'Community Associations' are the focal point not only of social and cultural development, but also of local opinion in ways which can be of great assistance to the local government authorities. Some measure of the remarkable growth of this movement may be seen from the fact that whereas in 1930 there were five Community Associations at the beginning of 1938 the National Council had made

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contact with ninety-three Associations throughout the country.

In the second place, there is need for adequate premises and facilities for the many activities for which a demand has arisen. Not only are public halls needed for meetings and for social gatherings such as dances and whist drives, but the various groups which have sprung up need committee rooms, craft rooms, club rooms, young people's rooms, playing fields, and gymnasiums. From these requirements has grown the conception of a Community Centre.

A successful Community Centre is established by a partnership between the statutory and the voluntary bodies. Local authorities now have powers under Acts of Parliament to provide the capital funds for the building and equipment of the centres, and these powers have been considerably extended by the recent Act for Physical Training and Recreation. It is the task of a strong and representative Community Association to ensure that the Centre is of real and vital services to the district it serves.

Such partnerships are rapidly developing. An increasing number of local authorities all over the country are seeking the advice and experience of the Community Centres and Associations Committee of the National Council in this matter, and are co-operating with Community Associations in their estates in the joint development of the activities housed in the Community Centre.

The Council's services are in great and increasing demand. Officers of the Council are called upon to assist both the Community Associations themselves and the local authorities with detailed suggestions at every stage

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of the enterprise of forming an Association, erecting a Centre, and organising activities. Such inquiries have recently been received from over one hundred new places. Much special experience has been gained as to the most suitable design for Community Centres of different types, and the Council has issued, with the advice of experienced architects, a series of typical suggested plans; and it has also published a series of pamphlets on the problems of Community Centre organisations and activities.

‘The conception of the Community Centre and Association, first developed in the new housing estates, is proving more widely applicable to urban areas in general; and an increasing share of the National Council’s attention and service is likely to be demanded in the future by development of the work in this direction.’

Some people may say that all this does not show that enough is being done. I think it shows the country is not asleep. But there are a few points that can be taken, not perhaps by a non-political organisation such as the National Council for Social Service but by the Government, from one or two foreign efforts which I now want to describe.

CHAPTER XI

THE WORKMAN ABROAD

IN Italy one good thing came out of the Fascist Regime, the Dopolavora (After Work) Clubs. They are run by different groups of trades. There are over seventeen thousand of such clubs. Some of the bigger industries have their own clubs—which at their main centre are most elaborate. That is to say for the railwaymen the Rome centre is the most elaborate and for the sailors, the one in Genoa. The working men pay a ridiculously small subscription for what they get and the heads of the industries voluntarily, at the suggestion of the Party, subscribe large sums.

I visited the railwaymen's organisation in Rome. They have their own hotel and their theatre, with continuous performances afternoon and evening for their wives and children and themselves. The Insurance Companies showed me their gymnasiums, restaurants, fencing classes and lecture rooms. In Naples, I visited the tramwaymen's Dopolavora, and once the tramwaymen were the most communistic group in Naples.

That afternoon, quite impromptu, forty of them played string instruments and thirty sang on a platform patriotic songs about the King and the Duce. Some had their children holding their hands, and some were once tramwaymen but now were out of work. They met every

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afternoon and performed free in public on Sundays. A few days later they gave an elaborate performance for 200 Nazis from Berlin when singers from the Opera, also members of a Dopolavora, came and sang for nothing. The ideal of service, like in our own clubs, is meant to be paramount.

The Germans have copied these clubs in an organisation called The Strength Through Joy Movement. Nearly six million workers use it to-day and everyone enjoys it. Briefly it gives the facilities for recreation otherwise unobtainable, as in the Dopolavora; but it also arranges the most wonderful sea cruises to Baltic ports, to Madeira, and to the Yugoslav Coast. Over 150,000 people use their boats in summer; which is worth remembering when we say we could not send that number of people to Australia for National Service.

This movement might surely in some measure be copied in Great Britain. It would give the workmen and their wives in this country a different and a happier outlook. It may be said to be a mainstay of the present German system. It almost makes the German worker contented with his ordinary life which is otherwise none too happy.

What is the position of the worker and the unemployed abroad? In France I visited first Marseilles.

It would be interesting to be able to say that a great sea port like Marseilles, in a country of high tariffs, is still prosperous. Its own industries may make it so—but the docks are as hard hit as anywhere. It is well to remember that on most of the Marseilles docks, very few Frenchmen work. Such hard labour (and similarly throughout France), is left to the immigrant foreigner—

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usually Italian, but often Portuguese, Spanish, Polish, and especially in the north, Belgian.

In a population of about one million inhabitants, Marseilles counts 206,000 foreigners, and that does not include the naturalised foreigners nor the many colonials. And out of that 206,000 over 128,000 are Italians. This must make one realise a little of France's anxiety in case she ever went to war with Italy, or any other country, and it must also be remembered that these people do all the hard work and are not counted as French unemployed, when they cease to get a job.

I went to all the Labour Exchanges. There was an entirely separate one for the dockers. Here the men have to apply twice a day if they are not taken on in the mornings or afternoons at the docks, and then at the end of the week they are given a dole for the number of days or half-days they have not worked. My hotel was near the barracks where are lodged the colonial troops, and it seemed to me an unpleasant sight to see the wretched unemployed lining up every evening at six o'clock outside the barracks to get scraps of food left over from the negro soldiers' dinner, and these scraps were brought out and given to the white men by the coloured men.

Then I went into the slums of Marseilles and I understood why some social workers had said, "let us know something about your slum clearance projects, for we so far have done nothing."

I used to think Canning Town was bad enough, but in Marseilles I felt a strong inclination to run away.

I visited a camp of White Russian unemployed, living

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in huts near the railway station. They were a pathetic sight, ex-officers, and their wives, with children now growing up. Like everyone else in France these children will have the advantage over our youth—of at least one year's discipline and one year not on the dole—the year when they do their military service and then after that at least a few weeks' camp each year to train and to keep fit as reservists.

I was greatly struck by the French working man's excessive realism and though there may be less unemployment officially in France, I think the country, as a whole, is actually harder hit than any other. A leading French economist told me nearly eighty per cent. of the workers of France are their own employers—the country is full of small businesses and small farms. All these people are not unemployed, but they are badly hit and are doing without one and sometimes two meals a day. That is only happening in England to at most one tenth of the population. On the farms the French give hospitality to their city relatives; this I found especially in the north where the small shopkeepers often told me, they were not doing half the business of recent years.

In Lyons the bigger firms, the silk factories, have not perhaps many unemployed, but they have cut down the wages so drastically that an unskilled labourer now gets only 2.50 francs an hour, and a weaver or a skilled worker 16 francs a day. In addition they do not work on Saturdays and Mondays and do not do always eight hours a day.

In recent months the unemployment figures have been going up and an attempt has been made to solve the problem with the forty hour week, but it is not succeed-

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ing and France will soon have to face a hard period like that of Great Britain in 1931. The very fact that she has our ideas of independence and individuality makes one feel she will pull through her crisis. But to do so without unpleasant incidents will need a great revival of vitality and of some religious belief.

In Germany the thing that makes the average German happiest is to be physically fit. The Government has now built a huge academy in Berlin where they teach young men and women to be teachers of sports and physical culture. First, the teachers are examined to see what games they will be best at, and then they join classes where they learn everything that is known about each game. When they learn to swim, the whole pool is lit up and the instructor sits under the water. So he sees if you dive and do your breast strokes properly. Later, these people go and teach others, when they have finished work in the evenings, and there is a special organisation that helps workers with money, so that they can play games and keep fit during their spare time. If you get very good at sport you can get a special badge which you keep until you are forty years of age.

At home the German finds his standard of living has definitely gone down—it is very difficult to say by how much. Professor Stephen Roberts in "The House that Hitler Built," suggests it is by as much as forty per cent. Slum clearance has been tackled successfully in Hamburg and Berlin—but there is great poverty still in the Rhineland; working men are watched in their factories so that no strikes shall develop; 'voluntary' contributions to charities such as the Winter Help and ordinary taxes and insurance leave them less than sixty per cent. of their

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wages for their own use. With this money taken from them much is done for them, and the German character likes this.

Not so the Scandinavians. Here the Government and the employer are compelled to provide every necessary social service, but after that the working man asks for no organised sport, no lectures; he insists on living independently at home, as one is sometimes tempted to think, not a little bored with his proud but solitary existence.

In Germany, perhaps the most alarming thing is the constant spying, which also prevents the use of the wireless for listening-in to foreign countries. The control is comparable only to that in Russia and in Japan.

The German Government protects its followers well from foreign propaganda. To begin with, there is only one kind of cheap set favoured in Germany; it is specially advertised and people are 'encouraged' to purchase it. This set is so arranged that it makes it almost impossible to pick up any foreign station. On the other hand there are a number of people who have short-wave sets, though nobody much under the shopkeeping class. These people listen-in to almost any station, but they must not invite their friends to be present at any talk. Though it is legal for them to listen-in alone, it makes them suspect with the Government and the Government usually cuts in with its own powerful stations. The Gestapo is always on the lookout, and doctors, when they visit their patients, are expected to report afterwards on the type of programme the patient is apt to listen to. In view of the fact that Nazi officials are not only in

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charge of districts or groups of streets, but are given in the last resort no more than six houses, for which they are completely responsible, it is natural that the Government knows almost exactly what is being listened to throughout Germany; and sensible Germans realise this.

The Russian propaganda broadcasts are listened to frequently in Berlin, and I have heard an attack made on both Goebbels and Hitler for sending money out of Germany to be invested in Switzerland. The Russians broadcast in no fewer than fifty-five different languages. But they and their friends realise that even so, many of the Germans are unwilling to have short-wave sets and the only thing to do is to work inside that country. As a result for many months last year, the German authorities have been much harassed by a travelling transmitting set, said to have been sent from Prague, which broadcast, from a different place each night, some very effective Communist propaganda, aided and abetted by the many Communist supporters still at large in Germany; in recent months it has been silent.

If it is difficult for the Russians to broadcast to Germany, it is ten times more so for the Germans to broadcast to Russia. The system used in the Soviet Republics is not unlike that of the wireless exchanges in England. Russian groups subscribe and receive as a result, an instrument which can only listen-in to one, or at most two stations. These stations are entirely controlled by the Government and it is impossible to listen to foreign countries at all.

The type of broadcast heard in Russia is very similar to that heard in Germany, a series of panegyrics of the

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present Regime and of the wonders of Social Reform, together with hatred of the Opposition country.

One thing the Germans are allowed to hear oddly enough, though with a suitable explanation, is that there was an increase of unemployment in Germany between November 31st and December 31st, 1937, of over eighty per cent. and unemployment has also been increasing steadily within the last few months.

In Scandinavia, and especially in Denmark, unemployment has been steadily on the increase these latter months, and the workers are far from satisfied with their lot. Socialism has, however, such a control that nobody is really allowed to try any experiments to improve the lot of the working men. Everything is controlled by the deadening hand of the Trade-Unions. Even the Folk Schools are uncertain of their future. The one and only effort in Copenhagen of a voluntary nature shows up such a state of poverty that Socialists in this country might well ponder if their panaceas are so worth while.

The most recent figures published in our own Ministry of Labour Gazette, show the following interesting comparisons about retail prices compared with 1914 in this country and abroad. In Great Britain, by 1934, retail prices had risen 22 per cent. and by November, 1937, 46 per cent. In Czecho Slovakia in 1934 they had risen by 553 per cent. and in 1937 by 569 per cent. In France (Paris) 391 per cent. in 1934 and 554 per cent. in 1937, whilst in Germany they had only risen 20 per cent. in 1934 and 21 per cent. in 1937.

In figures that include House Rent, Clothing, Fuel, Light and other requirements the figures compared with 1914 were:

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	1934	1937
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	41	60
Belgium	554	656
Czecho Slovakia	593	624
Denmark	66	83
France (Paris)	411	530
Germany	22	26
Italy (Rome)	283	363
Sweden	55	65
U.S.A.	37	47
Irish Free State	52	70
Australia	19	28
Canada	22	31

These figures seem to show the U.S.A. in spite of depression, in a good position, but the United States is facing fresh problems.

I quote from the Ministry of Labour Gazette, this time from January, 1938, referring to the U.S.A.:

"According to returns received by the Bureau of Labour Statistics from employers, covering over one half of the aggregate number of wage-earners in manufacturing industries, the number of workpeople employed at the middle of November, 1937, showed a decline of 5.7 per cent. as compared with the previous month. Aggregate weekly earnings in these establishments declined during the same period by 10.9 per cent. If the average monthly index of employment in manufacturing industries for the three years 1923-1925 be taken as 100, the corresponding index for November, 1937, was 94.7, as compared with 100.4 for the previous month, and 96.9 for November, 1936.

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Reports received by the American Federation of Labour from affiliated trade unions in twenty-four cities showed that, in December, 1937, 17 per cent of the membership of these unions covered by the returns were unemployed, as compared with 14 per cent. in both November, 1937, and December, 1936. The Federation assesses the total number of unemployed persons in the United States in October, 1937, at 8,491,000 as compared with 8,291,000 at the end of September, 1937, and 8,894,000 at the end of October, 1936. According to the estimates of the National Industrial Conference Board, the total number of persons out of work rose from 6,062,000 in September, 1937, to 6,355,000 in October; in October, 1936, the corresponding figure was 7,464,000. All the above estimates include a considerable number of persons engaged on public relief work schemes."

Later news from the United States shows that the President admitted in the middle of February that over three million fresh workers had lost their jobs since November—in a little over two months, a ghastly figure; and Mr. Morgenthau told a Congress Committee: "Whether we have reached the bottom of the down turn I don't know and I don't think anybody else knows."

Labourites put the unemployment figure now at 13,000,000. Yet the United States on the whole are not despondent. If they are not, Great Britain with at most 1,800,000 insured unemployed can scarcely be less optimistic, although nearly 50 per cent of our insured workers face some period of unemployment each year.

Such a brief summary serves to show that other countries are suffering terribly at present, and restrictions on information make it impossible to know the whole

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truth about the Totalitarian States; all we surely must realise is that no other country has found a system that gives an all round better system than our own, and conditions being what they are in the World to-day, we should watch very carefully lest we try and go too fast for this generation in improving our own lot.

Let us reform where possible and explain the situation frankly where it is not possible. Above all we must get to know and understand each other much more quickly up and down the country.

On one subject of our unemployment I feel Conservatives do not really understand all the facts, namely in the case of why girls who are unemployed will not go into domestic service. It may be a question for which there is no final solution, but a better understanding is necessary.

CHAPTER XII

DOMESTIC SERVANTS

EVEN before the slump of 1931, there were complaints throughout the country that it was impossible to get domestic servants. Women were drawing the dole and yet they would not go into Service. In many a household, the only contact between the mistress and the working class of this country was through the domestic servant and the demands of the servant seemed so irrational to the mistress that she was often more than willing to believe everything that was said in criticism of the ordinary unemployed. On the other hand the domestic servant, without any form of protection or trade union, listened to the complaints of what is commonly termed 'the scivvy', and without thinking very hard, considered that her own grievances were similar. In snobbish England, the trade of the domestic servant became the most unfashionable of all. That the average English woman is not unwilling to be a servant is proved by the number of girls who were applying at the same time at Canada House and Australia House for the opportunity to go to the Dominions as domestic servants.

Many of them went, well trained in the London and other centres; but it was inevitable that by the time they reached the Dominions they became home-sick. If they

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did not marry and settle down almost as soon as they reached the other side, numbers of them did everything they could to get home. Even in the short time that they were in the New World, they had learnt a new life, they saw the labour saving devices of the Canadian homes and they knew about the short hours of the domestic servants in Australia. They compared all this with the sordid surroundings of their own family homes in the North of England on their return. They realised there was no central heating, no electric light and no modern kitchens, with labour-saving devices; and almost all of them that I have come in contact with have wanted to go out again, but there is as yet no assisted passage arrangements for people wishing to make a second attempt. Why then will these people not go into domestic service in Great Britain, and why are the girls who draw the dole equally unwilling?

There have been numerous suggestions that this matter should be more seriously considered by the Ministry of Labour and many a lady I know, has got heated in her arguments on the subject.

There is no need for further study, almost all the facts are known, all that is needed is that they should be properly thought over by mistress and maid alike.

To begin with, in the last ten years, there has actually been an increase in domestic servants instead of a decline, and the majority of women that work to-day are domestic servants. Probably the crux of the whole problem is that of the house where only one servant is employed, especially a servant of the type contemptuously termed 'a scivvy'. She is usually a child, aged about fifteen or sixteen and as often as not she is slightly mental. She is

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pushed into the job by her parents or sent down through some Employment Agency, from the north of England to the south. She is employed in the house of a woman who has social ambitions and who has no right whatsoever to have a servant, for she cannot possibly afford one. She will take a girl and pay her a mere pittance and she will work her from early morning till late evening and hardly ever give the girl a chance to sit down. Finally on Saturdays, as likely as not, she may raid the girl's money box to borrow what she needs herself over the week-end. Oddly enough this type of lady usually votes Socialist.

This may sound an exaggerated story, but the officials who have studied this matter consider it no exception, in fact the majority of girls in service have been treated in this country on such lines. People hear about it, especially working class people, and the story spreads that such conditions of slavery form the lot of all domestic servants. Soon it affects the girl who is wanted in the more civilised private house and who would otherwise be quite content to take up the domestic profession. The girl arrives, if she has got to do it, already full of resentment, and in nine cases out of ten, if she comes directly from a mining home or from some distressed part of England, she will be, anyway at first, almost useless at her job. Her mistress becomes annoyed and misunderstandings arise from the very start.

And then again, there are other than snobbish reasons for domestic service being unpopular; the mistress will argue that she does all that is possible, she gives the maid two hours off every day, in the afternoon, and one evening off in the week. But how does that compare

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with the position of the factory girl? The girl who goes into the factory has every evening off in the week as well as Saturday afternoon and Sunday. Most girls in this country want to get married, so what is the use of their having two hours off every afternoon since they cannot meet any young men in that time? The young men are always at work during the day. Then again it is not an uncommon thing that the evening off clashes with some arrangement suddenly made by the mistress and the maid is asked to change her day. The result is an intense loneliness for the ordinary single maid in a good household. Unless her friends happen also to be maids, she can never see them; and if she lives in a house of two or three servants, she is usually asked to share a room with another maid, or at least to share the kitchen with her. That is all very fine if the maids like each other, but this in itself, will only be a piece of luck; nine times out of ten they dislike each other from the start.

None of these things really apply to households where there are large staffs, except the question of servants disliking each other. In these large households, the servants have a trade-union amongst themselves, the upper servants use one room and the lower servants another; they have their own radio and their own days for going out, specially in the country where a bus is often provided for them to go into the local town.

It must be admitted that there is something slightly snobbish about the whole attitude towards domestic service. Even in Germany the Government is having serious difficulties in getting girls to go into domestic service. They are trying hard by propaganda to make it more fashionable; and nowadays, in some parts of

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England, people of a very different social scale, are taking on the jobs of housekeeper, cooks and the like. But we have still got to get over the fact that if you see a lady digging in her garden and planting flowers or doing the work of the ordinary gardener, you will not be in the least bit surprised; but if you see her peeling potatoes when you come to call, you leave a little embarrassed, feeling you have intruded and that perhaps your hostess is not as well off as she might be, else she would not do anything so unpleasant.

No such feeling as this is felt in the Dominions and the servant there is treated far more as a member of the family. Such a thing will probably never be possible in this country, and on the whole, the grievances of servants in moderately well-to-do houses can fairly easily be remedied, without any such change. Amongst the many suggestions recently put forward, probably the best, are that mistresses should sign a slip, stating the conditions they are willing to give and they should be legally forced to abide by them. Moreover, maids should be insured not only for health, but when they get married they should be allowed to draw a dowry from that insurance for marriage. Or when they get old they should be allowed to draw a special pension. Those conditions added to the present comforts allowed in most houses of standing, should be enough to satisfy the ordinary servant. But the far more serious problem to be tackled is the one of how to protect the young girl afraid to complain, for fear of losing her job, from the type of mistress who has no right to possess a servant at all. A trade union with special hours for service, can hardly meet this case, but some Government regulations will no doubt soon be

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brought in and with them must go some effort to make domestic service socially more important.

In the meantime the ordinary citizen should not lose his or her sympathy for the unemployed, just because girls will not go into service. They have a definite grievance which most of us know nothing about and now that trade conditions are improving for every other occupation, it will only make the domestic problem worse in the years to come if we force girls into an unreformed profession.

CHAPTER XIII

TRADE

THE traditions of this country, together with the toleration, even if it is not enough used by every class in the country towards every other class, especially in recent years, have been largely responsible for our present prosperity; yet none of these things could have pulled us through the developments of the last hundred years without our immense world trade. We have talked of unemployment. It is now time to study employment and what the Government can do.

The increase of trade is needed to-day, especially the increase in our export trade. There are talks of coming slumps which are entirely unjustified about our own country, but until the situation is clear about the United States, none of us can be completely sure about the future. To us, from a trade point of view, the United States is vital; the recent fluctuations on Wall Street and the fact that the United States is the greatest consumer in the World, are reasons why we cannot hope for a complete recovery for the World until conditions there are settled. The Prime Minister was right, when he said, that the consequences of the coming Trade Agreement between this country and America, will far transcend any immediate advantage to the trade of the two countries. If this Trade Agreement can be brought about, it should

be one of the greatest feathers in the cap, not only of this Government but also of the Dominion Governments who have been willing to co-operate in bringing it about. Without their assistance it would have been quite impossible, since a certain amount of Dominion preference will have to be foregone. Traders, who may suffer a little by the details of the Treaty, should be willing to sacrifice their losses in view of the great future for international trade that it envisages and they should follow the example of the Dominion Premiers.

This Treaty is a hope for the future from outside. How are we developing in the meantime in *our* trade affairs?

Toleration in our trade is as essential to-day as it always has been and this country wants to see as much toleration on the part of the employers as of the employed up and down the country. I would be the last person to maintain that British employers are any more perfect than are British employees, rather the contrary would seem to me to be the case. But that is why the Government has such a difficult task and must go so warily. Business leaders, just the same as employees, are convinced they are in the right. A National Government which has business leaders in it, as well as representatives of the working classes, is far more likely to be able to bridge the difficulties that have arisen in recent years, than a Socialist Government with nobody in it accustomed to running a big business.

On the whole this country has done remarkably well during the last five years. The Board of Trade surveys of industrial development covering the years 1932 to 1936, show that in that period no less than 2,700 new factories were opened. These factories employed some 200,000

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workpeople, and in 1936 this figure rose to over 250,000; whilst in the same period the total number of insured workers increased by about one million and a half. It is of interest that of the employment provided by the new factories, nearly two fifths was in the Greater London Area, one fifth in North West England, one sixth in the Midlands and one eighth in North East England. None of these factories employed less than 25 people, and most of them not more than 100. Nearly a quarter of the new factories were in the clothing group of industries, over half of which were set up in the Greater London Area. Thirteen per cent. were in the textile group and nearly half of these were set up in North West England. About ten per cent. were in the engineering group and again more than half of these were in the Greater London Area. Another 10 per cent. were in the timber working group, and the light metal working trades, the food, the paper, printing, etc., and miscellaneous groups accounted for the bulk of the remainder. The Conservative Party have worked out that since this Government came into Power, about one thousand new jobs a day, have been found; though of course this is only taking an average. But there is no doubt that the efforts of the Government in regard to tariffs and to trying to place industries in the Distressed Areas have been mainly responsible for this development. The question is has the new prosperity been spread over the country enough or has it concentrated too much near London?

The problem of placing new industries in the Distressed Areas has concerned this country so much that it has led to a Commission sitting at the present moment on the question of movements of the British population. We

find in the published evidence that the areas of Lancashire and Greater London, though they only cover one twentieth of the area of Great Britain, yet absorb one third of the industrial activity of the whole country. After these areas come the West Midlands, then the West Riding of Yorkshire followed by the South West of Scotland; but, in spite of that, industry is considered to be fairly well spread over the whole of Great Britain. If the Board of Trade were not to take its present arbitrary lines for what it calls the London Area and Lancashire, it would be found that the British industrial population is still more closely confined to different parts of the country, for both the Lancashire and Greater London Areas include a considerable amount of agricultural districts. It is also true that Great Britain is less densely populated than is Belgium, but England taken by herself, is actually the most densely populated country in the World, and in spite of that all the new industries tend to locate themselves in England.

In almost all the British regions, there are three kinds of industry, the basic ones, such as textiles and coal, which are largely used for export, then the subsidiary ones that minister to the basic industries and finally the local industries which are meant for local inhabitants, such as the hairdressing industry and the local transport industry.

For most industries there seems to be originally some quite useful reason for their being placed where they are. In the Greater London Area you have printing, stationery, food, engineering and clothing, leading in the factories. The reason for this would seem to be the greater population near London. The suggestion that industries are moving south because of the facilities of

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electricity and oil fuel, is thought by the Board of Trade to be much overrated.

In Lancashire, you have the cotton industry outstanding, but actually, jointly more important are the engineering, clothing, food, printing and stationery, chemicals and iron and steel industries; but of these last trades, coal mining here actually employs more men than each of those already mentioned. In the West Riding you have coal, woollen and worsted, these latter two forming one third of factory activity, and these are followed by iron and steel, engineering, clothing and food.

In the West Midlands, which consists of Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire, you have the ferrous and non-ferrous metals, as well as motors and cycles, giving two-thirds of the employment in the factories, and these are closely followed by coal mining and the potteries. Along the North East Coast and in South Wales, the industry is mainly coal.

Coal was producing an annual average of one million tons between the years 1500 and 1660. When Charles II came to the Throne, the increase rose to 2.2 millions and by 1850 it had reached forty-nine millions; but in 1913 coal production reached its highest point with 287.4 million tons. The latest figures for 1936 show 228.4 millions and the lowest figure reached in recent years was 207.1 millions in 1933. The average export over the period 1903 to 1912 was 75.2 millions and that has now decreased to 50.8 millions. It has been the Governments policy to endeavour to help the coal trade whenever they make a Trade Agreement with foreign countries, and they have in that way considerably helped the North East Coast between Durham and Northumberland.

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As regards the iron and steel industry, this used to be in Sussex before the Eighteenth Century and when it began to feel that the timber in that county, which it used for charcoal, was being used up, it allowed itself to be drawn towards the Midlands, the North of England and Wales, since the new possibilities of coal were to be found there in greater abundance. But we find the cutlery industry in Sheffield, already in that district as far back as 500 years ago; whilst the tin-plate industry was introduced from Germany in 1720, to Pontypool in Monmouthshire.

In the engineering trade, which depends on other industries we find it was first attracted by the coal areas and then by the iron and steel areas. Some people have wondered why then it was not attracted to South Wales and it has been argued that South Wales was too busy at mining and in the tinplate work. But the main reason is now considered to have been that the approach to South Wales was so difficult; there are bad roads, the country is very hilly, there is practically no tourist traffic and only one railway, and the coastwise traffic is long and expensive.

Two other industries are worth looking at to see the problem that faces us in this country; take first the cycle and motor car industry. The Birmingham Area took up the making of bicycles about 1869 when a sewing machine factory took over an order for making cycles. Then the watch makers of Coventry began to provide the workers with some of the parts of the bicycles and even the rifle trade was willing to help. Soon the motor car industry followed, although Lord Nuffield started at Oxford, where however, he had previously been running a bicycling repairing business. Another point to be

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remembered in regard to bicycles and motors is that the increase in employment in those trades between 1924 and 1935 was only 30 per cent. whereas the increase in output was over 160 per cent.

Let us turn to ship building. In the old days of wooden ships, these were built all along the coast, since otherwise it would have necessitated the cutting down of all the woods in one district and that is why the main shipbuilding industry was in early days in the Solent; behind it was the New Forest. Now in the days of iron clads, shipbuilding has moved to the Clyde and to North East England.

Cotton came to Manchester because the town was not a Corporation and had no guild restrictions in favour of its Freemen. Rumour has it that it was also because the Manchester people were supposed to be more friendly to foreigners than people in other parts of England. It is true that the woollen industry was already there and that later on the humidity of atmosphere helped the industry considerably, but modern invention has now replaced all that.

The way the woollen and worsted industry developed is also worth following in view of some post-War criticisms of British industry in general. Professor Clapham deals with this in studying the transference of the worsted industry from Norfolk to West Riding. He gives us one factor, the slowness of Norwich in adopting the steam engine. He states: "If Norfolk had taken full advantage of her opportunities, she might conceivably have tided over that period in the early and mid-Nineteenth Century in which location was all important." Lastly, Mr. E. Lipson in his "History of the English Woollen and Worsted Industries," referring to the reasons

for the decline in the West of England cloth industry, states: "The reasons for the fatal delay in the introduction of machinery in the Eastern and Western counties of England were two-fold, firstly the conservatism of the workers, who claimed a vested interest in the industry and were able to prevent or at any rate retard the use of machines, which destroyed this vested interest; and secondly the want of enterprise and energy on the part of the manufacturers who lacked the stimulus which the proximity of the Lancashire cotton industry supplied to Yorkshire manufacturers, to discard the traditional organisation of the woollen industry and develop it with the aid of machinery on the lines of the factory system."

The results of studying the history of the different trades in this country show us that places like Coventry where there are numbers of industries, can weather a storm best and can get more new industries going. But places like Corby, where a new industry of getting oil from coal, is being started are very dangerous for the future because they will be one industry towns. Some people think that many of these 'one-industry' towns breed 'one-industry minds' and so lead to depressed areas. The Government by instituting trading estates in Distressed Areas which I will refer to in a moment, is trying to do something to try and counteract this problem. There are many industries, such as the Aviation industry, which are new and for which there seems no clear reason as to why they have developed in certain areas. There is also a post-War tendency amongst companies, which the Government has got to watch; that is where big Trusts close down factories in areas where they are not doing well and they do so without regard to

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population, as for example in Jarrow. The owners are bought out, but the people are left unemployed. In the old days when individuals ran their own firms, they would go on for five or ten years at a loss, trying to pull things round and unwilling to admit that they were done for. This may have been a bad thing for the individuals but it gave the district a chance, for it gave it time to adapt itself to other industries. That is why Birmingham, which is still the centre of small men and small industries, goes on flourishing; it changed from the gun barrels of Napoleonic days into making gas tubes for the Twentieth Century. Post-War conditions have made it difficult to continue this more human method of change due to Trusts and Holding Companies. It may also be true that Democracies are always two years behind and that they take longer to meet such a situation than would Goering with his Four Year Plan or Stalin with his Five Year Plan. But in the long run I think it will be found that the British Government will produce the best and the simplest solution, at the least cost and with the minimum of suffering and uprooting.

First the Ministry of Labour has to face the problem of the Distressed Areas. Everything is being done to get as many of the young people out of these areas as possible, but it is not easy, for they have developed the one-industry mentality. Moreover if we advertise a Distressed Area as being distressed and also take out of it the best of its young men, we are not going to find it quite so easy to get fresh industries to move there. The Government still maintains that it is right to leave to manufacturers freedom to choose their own sites. But efforts must be made to get some of these factories into the Special Areas,

which is a better name for Distressed Areas. In the last few years, thanks to the Government's tariff policy, no less than 222 foreign companies have started new factories in this country, and it was found that 190 of them went where there were already suitable factory sites, vacated by other industries, thus eliminating the necessity of an outlay on new buildings. The Government decided that this was a good idea for developing in each Special Area, what they call trading estates.

These trading estates are to be run by companies associated with the Government, and consist of a number of acres of land in a suitable position on which the company builds up-to-date factories and will let them or sell them to fresh industrial enterprises. The Nuffield Trust, which is outside the Government control, co-operates also in these areas in making substantial advances on very liberal terms, to manufacturers willing to settle in the Special Areas. Then the Government has also given the Commissioner for Special Areas powers to make grants in relief of manufacturers' rent, rates, income tax and National Defence Contribution. These remissions may be anything up to 100 per cent. for five years. It is hoped that the lighter industries, which employ more men as against machines, will come to these areas.

But in dealing with this problem of trading estates, the Government has to remember that the industrialists of this country are no fools and that they have not gone to certain parts of England in the past without some good reason. Nowadays, strategic requirements may necessitate some compulsion on the part of the Government, but it must always be remembered that there are two great dangers in forcing industry into one area. Should

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the industry have an export market, it may find that production in that area will mean too high a price in competing abroad, and if it is for home consumption, it is possible that the goods may have to be sold to the consumer, also at a higher price. It is true that these are mainly economic arguments; but if one has to take the long view in this country, economic arguments are the wisest. There is also the human side which can be looked on as the short view, or even the political view, and in democratic countries, both strikes and lockouts are always possible; that view must also be taken. These are some, but only some of the reasons why the Government must take time and care in a country such as ours, as to how far it interferes.

The Socialists spend much time in criticising the bankers of this country and the City of London, but it is well to remember that the stability of our banking system makes London the world's centre for finance to-day; and a panic with regard to our banking system would lead to nothing different to what happened in the panic of 1931. The Banker's job is essentially a private one, he can give himself but little publicity; if an industry is in difficulties the one thing that would ruin it would be publicity, and so the industry goes secretly to the banks and the banks, again in secret, decide whether they will provide the money to see the industry through. Anybody who has studied the industrial change-over in this country in the last few years as well as the industrial revival, may be inclined to think that the banks have been too lenient rather than too strict.

After the War there was a good deal of wasteful competition in certain industries and it fell to the bankers,

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quietly but surely to help and to insist on healthy amalgamations and re-organisations. The Bankers Industrial Development Company was formed in 1929 and the spade work done by the Bank of England together with the Joint Stock banks and the banking and financial firms in the last six or seven years has been very largely responsible for the present prosperous and healthy condition of this country's industry.

It can be truly said that in spite of a very serious international situation, 1937 has been a good year in this country. Unemployment figures have gone up within the last few weeks but in other parts of the world they have gone up still more. In the iron and steel industry, we find both production and consumption were phenomenally large and the production of steel was the largest on record, whilst both shipping and coal showed great improvement over 1936. Home consumption of cotton increased, the conditions in the wool textile industry were not so good, but in 1936 the price had risen rapidly.

1938, with the expenditure on housing and the development of the re-armament programme, given no international implications, should be a boom year for Great Britain. In the last year, more people have been employed within the British Isles than ever before in our history. Retail business has topped all previous figures and the savings of the people have reached a new high record.

All this optimism and optimistic record is being forgotten to-day by interested parties, and everything will be done to bring about a panic slump, yet the future of the Dominions, the Treaty with the United States and our own most satisfactory internal position, largely due to the

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banks behind the scenes, show no such slump or panic to be warranted. I have referred to the re-armament programme.

People hear so much about our re-armament that they consider that it is already half complete. Both the re-armament programme and the development of the trading estates programme in the Special Areas are only in their infancy. Anybody who says that the prosperity of the last year is due to such national expenditure, might well be answered with the following facts. Only £150,000,000 have been so far spent additionally for defence, whereas in 1937, the expenditure of industry in this country has varied between three thousand five hundred millions and four thousand millions. This means that for twenty-four persons in employment re-armament has only found work for one additional person. Let us take the steel and engineering industries where re-armament would have its greatest effect. In 1937 74 per cent. of the output of Vickers Armstrong, Ltd., our greatest armament firm, was for ordinary commercial purposes, and 83 per cent. of the output of steel firms engaged in armament works in Sheffield was also for ordinary commercial purposes. Surely a sufficient proof that our revival has not been an artificial one due to re-armaments.

So much for the ordinary figures of trade and industry in this country; they show a basic soundness, due I maintain, to the toleration I have discussed up to now and also to tradition. What part has this tradition played in the last few years and is it possible that it has really been appreciated within the last three years? If that is so it leaves us still further strength to draw on in the future.

PART II

TRADITION

“Tradition wears a snowy beard, Romance is always young.”

Whittier.—Mary Garvin.

“If England’s head and heart were one,
Where is that good beneath the sun
Her noble hands should leave undone!”

Sydney Dobell.—“A Shower in War Time.”

CHAPTER XIV

THE JUBILEE AND THE EMPIRE

AS I sat, one day in January, at the back of a hall in the Mile End, I watched a film of the Fairbridge Farm Schools in Western Australia. The picture showed a car being driven across an appallingly bumpy road, splashing through water and seemingly having every spring broken in the attempt. "Lawd!" said a cockney voice in front of me. "The roads are rough out there." And then another voice answered contemptuously: "Yeah, but that's an old picture, Hore-Belisha's been out there since then." These two, I heard, were ardent Reds and I got into conversation with them soon after the lights went up. For East London Reds, their conversation was not so very alarming; they told me that when all was said and done, this country seemed a lot better off than any other country; I added: "Even than Russia?" and they agreed. As far as they could see, Communists were just as much human beings as anybody else, and as long as Capitalism existed in the world, they were quite sure the leaders in Russia would be just as much out for their own ends as were the leaders in every other country, the official trials seemed to show that clearly enough. In order to get what they had got, these fellows thought the Russians were paying too heavy a price in death and imprisonment. As far as my friends could see, we had

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quite enough customs of our own and safeguards, to be able to develop this country and our Empire, without any drastic changes. They thought the Coronation Year had shown this well enough and that we would be fools to follow any of the Continental experiments.

I asked them in view of the film we had just seen, if they had ever thought of going out to the Dominions. "No," they said, "we haven't, there's quite enough to do here, and they don't want us out there either."

Some Jews sitting near them did not agree with this; they felt that the Australians would be perfectly willing to have them, given that the people came out with plenty of money behind them and were capable of looking after themselves. One Jew went on to point out to me that there was a tremendous future and possibilities for the Jews, in Western Australia. He added that the number of persecuted Jews in Europe was on the increase; and that Palestine could never be a sufficient solution. Moreover, the best type of Jew, educated in one time democratic Western countries, had no particular desire to settle in the Near East. He would far rather go out to Australia, to a country which he considered was a Continent of the future; in this, he was undoubtedly right. There is nothing more amazing than to come down from Singapore and China, and to find a whole Continent, of which 90 per cent. of the inhabitants are British by origin; a Continent where only English is spoken and where there are nothing but White men, almost immediately after leaving such countries as Java, with over forty million Malaysians, or Papua or New Guinea, with hundreds of thousands of former Head Hunters. I asked the Jew if he would not lose there, his tradition and

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the dream of a Jewish home in Palestine. He replied that the Jews could carry on their own traditions and could blend them better with the tradition of the British race than with those of any other race in the world. He explained to me, what I had not known before, that the Jews only left England in 1290, after having previously been tolerated here; there were at that time no less than 16,000 Jews in England; a large number for those days! For another sixteen years they lived in France, then they were forced to go to Spain; here they remained for two hundred years; after that they went to Venice and to Amsterdam, and later back to France; and then, in the time of Cromwell, when England began to take a renewed interest in the Old Testament, they came back to Great Britain. Now, he could not see why under British auspices, they should not try to settle in those parts of Australia, where others could not go for lack of funds.

Both the Jew and the Red had to admit that on the whole when successful Australian emigrants or successful Canadian emigrants returned to England, they came back with bigger ideas. It is true to say that many others came back disgruntled at what had been their fate, or their bad luck; but none of them, after what they had seen of Australian conditions, or Canadian conditions, and standards of living, denied their superiority for working men in work.

As I journeyed home my mind went back to the Australia of two years ago. There, I remembered, were to be found the same traditions as in England. Amongst the richer people you found in every town the same kind of Club life as you would find in London, or in Perth or in Edinburgh. The social life was also very much the

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same, and though you had Christmas in the boiling heat of the summer, you ate your hot turkey, your plum pudding, your roast goose and your mince pie, just as if it was snowing outside; you very nearly expired at the end of it, but it was the tradition and at all costs it must be carried out.

The place names in Australia were even the same as in England, though the geography, at times, was more confusing. It seemed funny, in the Gold mining districts of New South Wales, to be able to leave Newcastle after a glass of beer, and to be in the local Swansea within the hour. Gambling, cricket, and betting on race horses were just as popular, if not more so, in Australia as in England. The press, Parliamentary system, Government House, school life, the Army (for what it was), the Navy, the Air Force, even a plague of rabbits; what was the difference between Great Britain at one end of the earth, menaced by Communistic Russia, Nazi Germany and a hundred other worries in Europe, from Australia menaced by Japan and the ever present colour danger from the overflowing nations of the East?

The difference was only in the distance and the rather old fashioned determination of each of the two nations to be her own master; and yet in many ways the unwillingness of an Australian to give up any of the rights of his inheritance could be shown in his interest and affection for the Royal Family, which seemed to him as much his own as ours. Just after my visit to Australia a Japanese envoy came to Sydney to make friends; he pointed out to the Australians, how akin they were to the Japanese, for the Japanese held in reverence their Emperor, as we held in reverence our King. But the Japanese Emperor is a

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God and our King is looked on as a human being, the father of a great family.

A few weeks later I was the guest of the Japanese Emperor's brother Prince Chichibu; I told him a story of the Duke of Gloucester's visit to Australia just over two years ago. Every paper had photographs and advertisements of the different motor cars, guns, horses and so forth, which would be used by the Duke on his tour. One morning, the Duke was out riding alone on a station in New South Wales. A farmer happened to be riding in the same direction; they got into conversation and suddenly the farmer turned to the Duke and said: "You're not by any chance the Duke of Gloucester, are you?" "Yes, I am," replied the Duke. "I thought so," continued the farmer, "for I recognised the horse from the photographs." The Duke had himself told this story midst much laughter, in Sydney, but when I told it to Prince Chichibu, the Prince looked horrified. "Do you mean to say," said Prince Chichibu, "that he recognised the horse and not the person of the King's son?"

In New Zealand and again in Canada, I found the British tradition developing along very similar lines to that in Great Britain. There was an awakening to a realisation that it was a similar tradition; and in that awakening, the people first took fright, for the only link they could see was the link of the Royal Family. As one went through French Canada, that became still more apparent; for here the natural traditions can hardly be said to be at the moment, in any sense British; it is French and French of the time of Louis XIV. The traditions are also Clerical, strongly Catholic, though that Clericalism to be traditionally French must be Gallic and should be

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far from subservient to the Curia in Rome. But again, the royal link is there and French Canada respects our monarchy as the logical outcome of the old Dukedom of Normandy, of which the Channel Islands are still a visible historical link for the French Canadians.

But all history goes to prove that the strength of Britain has been in her toleration and in her capability of absorbing different races and different characteristics and these last few years are showing what Europe, with the exception of France, is blissfully ignorant of, that one of the major tests of the vitality of the organs of our Empire, will be whether in the next few years, we can absorb the growing nationalism of the French Canadians, who in fifty years will surely form a majority in all Canada.

By the time I had reached home that night, thinking over my journeys through the Dominions, I still could see nothing very different and nothing that need really clash between the traditions of my friends in the Mile End, or of the level-headed Scots and the people of the North of England, and the inhabitants of Australia, New Zealand, of South Africa, or of Canada. But somehow, these peoples must be got to realise that they do need each other and that their differences are as nothing in comparison to their differences with other countries. Slowly but surely, this fact is beginning to dawn on our Empire. It has been one of the greatest achievements of the last five years in Great Britain and throughout the Empire, that each of these countries has been able to recover slowly but surely, without in any sense discarding those traditions of the past; and only in the last two years have the majority of Empire subjects begun to think about it at all. I find to-day, scoffers, but most of the

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scoffers are people who go abroad and who never visit our Colonies or our Dominions. These people never realise what is being done in the outlying portions of the Empire, where whole races are being turned away from savagery by methods which in a century's time, will be amongst the greatest historical pride of this country.

I found myself in New Guinea for the celebration of the Jubilee of King George V; the Jubilee that many people think has marked the turning point in the waking up of the British Empire. There were few parts of the Empire where the Jubilee was celebrated, which in themselves was more bound up with the reign of King George than New Guinea. Twenty-five years before, when George V was ascending the Throne of Great Britain, the people of New Guinea were probably entirely ignorant of that King's existence. In those days they were the subjects of the Kaiser, and their land was known as Kaiser Wilhelm Land. In the early parts of the War, the Australians took possession of this territory, which adjoins the Australian Colony of Papua. After the Great War the German lands were handed over to Australia as a Mandate. And it was in that capacity that the Jubilee of the King was being celebrated.

Our ship, one of a line which visits the capital Raboul, roughly once every three weeks, steamed in to the harbour in the early morning; soon we landed and walked up through the well-laid-out avenues, laid out by the Germans before the War, to the square in front of the wooden Government building. Drawn up on one side of the square were the native police, and opposite them stood the European business men and officials, in their white suits, trying to look as if they were accustomed to

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military formation. Forming the other two sides of the square, were the small number of native troops on the island, and again facing them, the little Christian native children, with the missionaries and with their own Boys' Band. In the centre, at the head of a pole, the Australian Flag was waiting to be unfurled, as the climax to the ceremony. Soon the Governor arrived and his wife proceeded to watch the ceremony from the top of the Government Building. The Governor went solemnly round the square, then waited for the unfurling of the flag. This would not unfurl, leaving an awkward pause, during which a native boy, looking for all the world as if he were about to climb to get a coco-nut, offered to run up the pole; but before the strains of God Save The King, sung by the mission children, had died away, the frantic tugging at the flag brought it into its unfurled position. Next came a March Past, and then an adjournment without any speeches, on the part of almost the whole European community to our ship, for drinks and gossip, before we sailed away.

The actual ceremony was very simple and short; but it was quite impressive enough for the local natives; and for someone passing through to yet other parts of the Empire, it gave plenty of food for thought. Here was a territory, obviously well developed as regards its ports, by the Germans; and now it had been taken over, not by the British, but by the Australians who had but little previous experience of Colonial administration. More than one of them, on that ship, told me how much they wished that distrust by the Dominions of British control, could be eliminated, so that the officials in New Guinea might then have an opportunity of being seconded to the

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British Colonial Service, there to learn from our experiences in the past. They felt that they had just as much right to profit by such experience as had our English administrators in their Colonies. They wished the British tradition to be carried out as much as possible, but they did not always find it easy to do, when they had only books to go by. It is undoubtedly true that since the Australians have taken over, they have penetrated much further into the Interior than ever did the Germans. But their Mandate has often caused considerable worry to the Commission in Geneva, and it would be hypocrisy to try and pretend that everything is perfect in New Guinea.

It would perhaps be a little fairer to judge the human development of the natives from the next Colony, Papua, which since 1905, has been in the hands of the Australians.

Soon after leaving Raboul, we touched the two main towns of Papua. The missionaries and the Government officials there, told me how they too had celebrated the Jubilee. All the native children in one big mission had sat up to listen to the broadcast by King George V, and they had been particularly thrilled at the King's special reference to children. Here again you had the sons and the grandsons of Head Hunters. You found an area which had been one of the most difficult in the world, to conquer; even a Lyautey would have found it very difficult. In the whole territory, there was no one Chieftain to defeat; the country was divided up into hundreds of small tribes, entirely independent of each other. When, then, the few soldiers or police, who had come along to take over the district or perhaps to punish a murderer, appeared there was no way in which it could be shown to the natives, that there was no use struggling

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against what seemed only a small weak band of white men. There seemed no possibility of explaining that behind these men was the power of a whole Empire. And so tribe by tribe, each learnt its costly lesson. Those days are long since over and the people are even beginning, though still practically savages, to be able to take a small part in the governing of their own small villages. As I sailed away for Australia, I could not help but remember the sorrowful remark of the Governor, who has been building this place up for the last thirty years, when he said: "I have often a terrible feeling that I'm doing all this work, not for the future of the British Empire, but for the Japanese, who will surely one day take this country over."

The Japanese will never take Papua over and Australia will never be forced to hand back the Mandate of New Guinea, if the people of Great Britain can continue the waking up process begun at the time of the Jubilee, and wake up to the fact that these territories are connected with them and are fast developing from savagery to civilisation.

A fortnight later, I was in Port Darwin in the Northern Territories of Australia. We were celebrating yet another patriotic date, this time, it was Empire Day. A few weeks before, I had been looking at savages who were fast becoming civilized and who, with some success were bridging the change, from an almost prehistoric life, to one of an industrial era. Now I found myself, in the most northerly and almost the wildest part of a Continent, which to all intents and purposes, has become a White Man's home. But I was in the part of it which has been least successful, and I was reminded, however proud I

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might be of our Empire as a whole, that our Democracy, unless it keeps a very steady hold over itself, can let a great deal slip and go to ruin. Here were territories that many had at one time hoped could be developed with immense profit. But to-day, due to a variety of influences, which need not be gone into here, but which certainly could not be called idealistic interests, that territory has gradually slipped back and is to-day a rather pathetic Outpost of Empire.

Only a short walk from my hotel, lived the last of the Aborigines of the district. At the school, where I went to speak with the Administrator, on Empire Day morning, I could see in front of me numbers of half-caste faces, of half-Japanese, of half-Chinese and of half-Aborigines. But all of them seemed to feel some kind of a link, however vague, with the other parts of the Empire, from which they were told I came; and the local clergyman gave them a spelling address which struck me, as one of the most practical summings-up for children, I have yet heard. He took the word 'Empire' and he pointed out that the first 'E' stood for Emperor, and then went on to talk about the link of the Crown and what King George V had done to strengthen it. Then he took the letter 'M' which he said stood for the Members of the Empire and he went quickly through the races and the countries, coloured red on the map. Then came 'P', which stood for Pride, not, as he pointed out a sinful pride, but a pride in our race and our mission, which should be understood by all the Empire's subjects. The 'I', he said, stood for Improvement and showed that we should never be content with the 'P' of Pride, for we must always remember that after it came the letter 'I' to remind us that there

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was always a great deal to be done and to be developed. Next came the letter 'R' which stood for the Rules or if you like it better, the Traditions and the different Constitutions, which helped our Commonwealth of Nations to function. Lastly came the second letter 'E' and for that he chose the word 'Emblem', and discoursed a bit on the Union Jack. Nowhere have I been at children's patriotic talks, where I have heard one more practical or more likely to stick in the minds of the children.

It was my luck, some ten days later, to find myself in Perth, the capital of Western Australia, for what eventually turned out to be, the last birthday of King George V. That day there was a luncheon of Ex-Service men, which I was requested to address; I asked them if I might bring with me a German who had travelled down on the same boat from Port Darwin; but the War is even less forgotten in Australia than in the most elderly club groups in England. The German's visit was not encouraged. There was nothing to prevent him going to see the Parade for the King's Birthday, which took place earlier in the day. His comments were not altogether flattering, as no less than two of the Guard of Honour fainted, and several of the men that marched past were out of step and out of line.

When, later on, I got back to Singapore, people were still talking there of the elaborate ceremonies that had taken place on Jubilee Day; and there was open disapproval at the lack of lavishness in what had been done in Australia. When I reached Hong Kong I was in time to see a film of the celebrations there and to hear of the thousands of pounds, spent by the King's Chinese subjects, not only in gifts to charity to mark the occasion,

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but in money spent on floral and other displays, to make the occasion for ever memorable.

In a sense, I felt I had taken part in no less than six patriotic celebrations, in six different parts of the Empire. First the simple ceremony with native Head Hunters in a territory that is only ours by Mandate; next, if not actually present, at least present in spirit with those Papuan children, listening to the actual voice of King George V speaking directly to them from the other end of the earth, and whose son, they told me, they called 'The Prince of Whales'. They thought it not inappropriate that the King's son should be Prince over such sea monsters. Then with people in the Northern Territories, who gave one the impression that they were rather like the citizens of a Ghost City in America, that is to say people who were hoping against hope that prosperity might one day come back to their country. A few days later, in Perth, with the more successful Australians, who wisely considered they could show their patriotism and their affection for their king, in a modest but serious manner. Then again, in Malaya, where the natives' ideas of pomp and ceremony made it absolutely essential for a display of great dignity and of much colour. And lastly in Hong Kong, where the Chinese showed, in their unmistakable manner whether they were subjects or merely guests, that they looked on the great English King with affection and intense respect; and that they relied on his Empire to help them develop their own country.

All that is just three years ago, and the town where the natives celebrated in New Guinea, is to-day a mass of ruins after the eruption of a near-by volcano. Papuans are still developing themselves, slowly but surely, and

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expeditions are about to visit new tribes, since then, discovered in the interior of the island. In Port Darwin, since I have been there, there has been built a large guest house for travellers, passing through by air from London to Sydney. Port Darwin has come back on the map, as an air centre; the Aborigines are finding their champions and talk of Migration to Western Australia is rearing its head again. In Perth, the idea of secession from the Commonwealth of Australia has died down; in Singapore, while I write, the new Naval Base is being opened; many a white man in the Far East heaves a sigh of relief at this addition to his safety. But in Hong Kong, there is little feeling of security to-day, with refugees pouring in in their thousands and Japanese aeroplanes massed on the near-by island around Formosa.

No three years have probably seen so much intensive development in the Empire; and it was doubly fitting that all this should have commenced with an act of homage to the greatest tradition of the whole Empire, the tradition of loyalty to the Crown. But as people woke up in that year of Jubilee to their position, they realised or began to realise, that one link was not enough. Soon they began to pass through those difficult days in Foreign Affairs with Italy and Japan and Germany, and in Imperial Affairs, with the death of King George V, the Abdication of King Edward VIII and the Accession of our present Sovereign. Bit by bit they read and spoke and thought amongst themselves, and as many as could, decided to try to return to the Mother Country to see for themselves, if only for a few weeks, what was happening at home, and the time to come, they felt certain, was for the Coronation last year.

CHAPTER XV

THE CORONATION

MAY 12th, 1937, witnessed the thirty-seventh Coronation since the Norman Conquest. For months before, the press of the Empire had done its best to publicise our greatest ceremony, but in spite of modern publicity methods used, it must be admitted, with considerable dignity, there was doubt at first in the minds of many, whether this great historical service, the greatest outward sign of British tradition that exists, would not prove to be out of date. Some remembered that the present King of Sweden, realising how democratic his country had become, had done away with the ceremony in Sweden, even in the days before the Great War. But no one to-day would be willing to deny that the ceremony fully justified itself and showed the genius of the British Race to combine every modern idea with the traditional past and still leave a completely harmonious picture. A possible reason for this, is the essentially religious character of the Coronation Ceremony and the British people remain to this day, at bottom a religiously minded race.

We can profitably study our own methods of combining the new with the old, and giving to all of it, a religious setting by studying the history of British Coronations. We find earlier ones dating back to the

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Eighth and Ninth Century copying a little the still older Coronations of the Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople; the next group of Coronations, right up to the period of King Henry VIII, reflect a struggle for Parliamentary Rights and Parliamentary Freedom.

In the days of the Normans, the Kings pacified their subjects in the same way that Herr Hitler pacifies his to-day. The King was brought by the Archbishop at the Coronation Ceremony to the four corners of the Royal Dais. In this way, he was offered by the Archbishop to the people of his country, to the north, to the south, to the east and to the west. They were asked if they would accept him for their King; in that way the people were led to believe that the monarch owed his great power to the free will of his subjects. A little over a year ago, Herr Hitler assured Mr. Lloyd George that he was no Dictator, but the mouthpiece of the people of Germany and that he was powerless to do ought else than what they demanded.

When Henry VIII was crowned, he already showed signs of rebellion against the authorities of the Church and the next series of Coronations are a series of changes in the ritual to try as far as possible to combine the traditions of the past with the religious changes of that time.

The Coronations of the first two Stewart kings, again necessitated alterations and the plague that was raging in London at the time of James I's Coronation, left the Abbey almost half empty. Those that were present were not the usual Londoners, but were a large number of Scottish gentlemen, who had come south to obtain positions and were determined to support their own

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monarch, plague or no plague. In the Cromwellian period, we find the Crown jewels broken up and dispersed, so that when Charles II was crowned, it had to be with a completely new set of Crown jewels, most of which are used to-day. His brother James II seems to have been crowned in somewhat of a hurry; for the crown had not been properly fitted and slipped down over his nose; whilst the Canopy held over his head, sagged ominously and pushed the crown down still further. More serious were the alterations in the Service, to satisfy the new King's religion; but such alterations were again done away with when William III and Mary came to the throne a few years later. Nothing particularly exciting happened at the Coronations of the first three Georges, but as one watched the dignity of the Procession in 1937 one could not help but remember the Coronation of George II, two hundred and ten years before, when the King and Queen, carried in sedan chairs, from St. James's Palace, took several hours, in the early morning to reach the Abbey, because of the mob around them, and they were not finally at home until nearly midnight that night. You were still more forcibly reminded of that occasion, if you were amongst the unlucky people who tried to get away from the Abbey at a reasonable hour after the last Coronation.

George IV was the last monarch to insist on a Banquet after the Coronation, in Westminster Hall; the amount of money this monarch spent in an extremely difficult financial period in England caused an outcry in the country. Even the peeresses were discontented. Their lot was far from a happy one, they had to be in the Abbey soon after dawn, they sat through the length

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of the Ceremony and then instead of going home, were invited to sit in the Balcony of Westminster Hall, where they could watch their husbands feasting down below; whilst they themselves sat starving up above. At last they could contain themselves no longer, and binding their scarves together, they let down baskets and woe betide those husbands, who did not place in them a juicy cutlet or some well-cooked fish.

When William IV prepared for his Coronation in the days that were very near to the Reform Bill of 1832, the feeling against any recurrence of the almost vulgar display of George IV's Coronation was so strong that the Banquet was cut out altogether, never to be revived, and the Service was as far as possible shorn of any excessive ostentation. The poor King, himself an elderly naval officer, hoped that this also would be a good opportunity for doing away with the embarrassing period, during which he had to be kissed on both cheeks by every elderly Bishop in the Kingdom. Tradition on this occasion, however, would not unbend and the Bishops insisting on their pound of flesh, the King was forced to be kissed, as before.

When his niece, the young Queen Victoria, succeeded, chivalry won the day, and where the Bishops would not give way to an elderly naval monarch, they realised they could not insist on kissing a young girl Queen; and so that ceremony too has ceased, not to be repeated. Again as one watched the well rehearsed efficiency of our most recent Coronation, one had to remember how different it had been at the time of Queen Victoria. As the Archbishop tried to place the Ruby Ring, without much success, on the Queen's fourth finger, she pointed out to

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him that the ring had been fitted for the fifth. The Archbishop replied that he did not care, it was meant for the fourth, and one can only feel relieved that a hundred years ago, there was no broadcasting machinery for this conversation to be heard across the world. The ring was forced on the poor young Queen's finger and when it had to be taken off a basin of boiling water had to be brought for the Queen to soak her hand in first.

Sixty-four years later, Edward VII was to be crowned. Nobody who had taken a prominent part in the Coronation of Queen Victoria was there to take part; nobody therefore, had any personal experience to draw on and rehearsals had also to include many changes that had taken place within the British Empire in those momentous years. It was not intentional, but it became appropriately enough the first all Empire Coronation. King Edward was taken ill a few days before the original date, and the Coronation had to be postponed. None of the foreign delegations, with one exception, were able to wait for the new date in the middle of the summer. That one exception was the Abyssinian delegation and it was interesting to remember in the problems of whether the Abyssinians were to be represented at the Coronation of our present King, that thirty-five years previously, the Abyssinian delegation was the only one, bar the delegations from the Dominions and the Colonies which was present at the crowning of Edward VII.

When finally we come to the Coronation of our present King and Queen, we find the wording of the Service altered to show one of the most momentous changes in the whole history of the Empire. Those words in which the King announces that he will abide by the

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laws of each separate Dominion, mark the religious sanction for the first time given to the Statute of Westminster and the opening of a new experiment in Imperial Government, an experiment which has never been tried in the world before. And yet to set the seal religiously on that new experiment, the King and Queen drove through the streets of London in a coach of centuries ago, in clothes reminiscent of the long distant past, and returned, wearing Crown Jewels which were worn by Charles II; were annointed with a ritual, much of which dates back to the reign of the Emperor Constantine, and annointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose title brings back the history of this country for over a thousand years; and all this in the presence of Prime Ministers from Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Northern Ireland and great Chieftains from the Colonial Empire, Rajahs from India, Communist delegates from Soviet Russia, a Nazi Field Marshal sitting next to an Ambassador from Red Spain; and the brother of the Son of Heaven from Japan, watched no doubt, with interest, by the delegates of the Chinese Republic.

So was this new momentous formula spoken as clearly and with as sincere a reverence for its importance as all the age long formulæ which King George VI also pronounced. So too, as one looked around the Abbey, could one notice how the vast changes of the last twenty-five years had been easily blended with the traditional past of British history. Where once there had only been a few hundred Peers and a few hundred M.P.s, to-day the vast increase in the franchise, as well as a larger number of Peers, could be noticed as they sat in their serried ranks to the right and to the left of the Throne.

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Women M.P.s sat as easily amongst their men fellow members as if they had always been present at every Coronation. Further down the Nave could be seen the brilliant new blue uniforms of the heads of our Air Force. They too, were something new and possibly something ominous in this Old World picture. Not noticeable, unless you were close up to the Throne of St. Edward the Confessor, were the two tiny little instruments attached to the left and to the right of the chair, for all the world like two small ashtrays in a first class railway compartment. Through these unnoticeable little spots on the King's Throne, were our Sovereign's words able to be broadcast throughout the world, and in this 'way loyal Canadians, sitting up through the night, were listening in Vancouver to every word we ourselves could hear, only a few yards away from the actual Throne.

The lighting too, seemed different in the Abbey, and that we knew was meant for the films of the Service which were to be shown throughout the world, with only the exception of two countries, Italy and the Irish Free State. Wisely, the King had decided that there must be no spot lights shining down on the King and Queen alone; he insisted that the full strength of the lighting should bear down on the whole scene around the Altar. There we saw Queen Mary walking in procession with a dignity that could not be equalled. She was the first Queen Mother to be present at a Coronation, since Anne of Cleves, one of the wives of Henry VIII, who attended the Coronation of her stepdaughter Queen Mary I.

On either side of Queen Mary walked the two small princesses, and as all eyes looked down, even from the

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very tops of the Abbey on the tiny Princess Elizabeth, there must have been few indeed who did not think of a future Queen of England and remember the great history of her past namesake. Later came the procession of our own Queen, the first Queen Consort of England who was not a member of a foreign Royal Family, to be crowned since the days of Henry VII.

As the Ceremony finished and the voices died away, after the singing of 'God Save the King', it was justifiably felt by every British subject present, who knew anything of foreign countries, that no country in the world could show such a splendid ceremony of tradition, unbroken through the centuries and one that still fitted in so perfectly with all that everyone in this country feels. That impression was not only to be found in the Abbey, it must have been felt by every single person who came out of the cinemas of the Empire, after seeing those films which were taken in modern aeroplanes over half the world, within a ridiculously short number of hours.

It certainly did not leave in anybody standing near me, an impression of satisfaction that everything was all right; on the contrary, it made us feel that up till now, in the seeming chaos of the world, we had begun to doubt a little whether we were really on the right path; and on that day, and in the weeks that followed, we all felt that the feeling that we were on the right path had been proved to be correct, and that all that is now needed is that we should go out and, feeling confident, put our house still more in order. People seemed to feel strengthened in whatever work of Empire good or development they were doing, and those who listened to foreign comments on the Coronation, became even more convinced

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that up to now we have not been doing nearly enough to tell the world of what we stand for and of what we can do.

Only a few weeks before, I had gone out to tour Yugoslavia, one of the most important of the Balkan States. I had gone there to tell the English-speaking Yugoslavs, at their own request, what the British Coronation really meant. There was no doubt about the interest, and everywhere throughout the country parties were being arranged to listen in to the ceremony from start to finish. There and elsewhere it was interesting to point out how closely the British Coronations and their developments linked up with the ruling families of almost every country of Europe. To the Yugoslavs, it was of interest to point out that their boy King was descended from our Queen Victoria and that thirty-four of the thirty-seven Coronations since the Norman Conquest were the Coronations of their boy King's own ancestors. Moreover, our King is the Godfather of their King. In Rumania also, in Greece, in Spain, in Sweden, in Norway, in the former German Empire, in Russia, either the present monarch or his next heir or the claimant to the throne, if it has ceased to be a monarchy, claims direct descent from the rulers of Great Britain, either to the days of Queen Victoria or King Edward VII. We read in the letters of Queen Victoria, how great was that family influence throughout Europe, and added to it was the Saxe-Coburg connection which could link up the other countries of Belgium, Portugal, Bulgaria and Italy, to-day. That influence was immense in the Nineteenth Century. It is the fashion to consider such an influence as non-existent in the Twentieth Century, but

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that is not the case; it is undoubtedly not so great and in such countries as Russia, non-existent; but in many other parts of Europe the tradition and the influence behind the Royal Family of Great Britain is still very strong.

The after effects of the Coronation Summer are slowly but surely beginning to be felt. Foreign countries and foreign rulers were forced to turn their attentions to these islands; as a result, each and every one of them seems to be seeking our friendship. We ourselves gained internal strength from what we saw and heard; we realised that in many ways, we were just as modern as other countries, and we felt that in the ways in which we were not modern, it was perhaps, taking all in all, just as well. We decided there and then, at the Imperial Conference which followed upon the Coronation, and at almost numberless private meetings, that the Empire must be knit more closely together and must be developed with an ever greater rapidity.

The Jubilee had started to awaken the peoples of the Empire and the Coronation had brought them a step further. After the Jubilee it seemed that the link was entirely personal and was only held together by King George V and the popularity of his son, the Prince of Wales. The two years between the Jubilee and the Coronation included the period of the Abdication and showed very clearly, that the link was not only a personal one, but was something else as well. The religious faith shown in the Coronation proved this still more, but there remained and still remains, some uncertainty as to what that link really is.

Numbers of people have been starting since last year to try and find it. At Ashridge, there have been courses to

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study what Great Britain really stands for. Groups in London and elsewhere, have been meeting to see how far a common basis can be found. Books without number have been appearing, many, I think, with the fault that they have been trying to explain what is meant by Democracy and thinking that when they have found it, that will be the solution for the British Empire's beliefs.

But the way in which we govern ourselves in this Empire is not true Democracy, it is something essentially British, worked out of our own tradition and our own essential toleration, and like Fascism and Naziism, it is not probably really meant for export.

This does not make it any the less imperative that we should understand ourselves and know along which lines we must develop; we must start by avoiding any risks of breaking up the Empire, before we have become quite certain why and how we are held together. The gravest risk of breaking up was seen in the last two years to be over foreign policy and it is to that that the British Empire must turn her attentions first.

CHAPTER XVI

FOREIGN. AFFAIRS (EUROPE)

THE Imperial Conference, following on the Coronation, was more successful in many ways than appeared from the slightly colourless report given to the public. Every day it becomes more apparent that a very considerable measure of agreement was reached on the subject of Imperial Defence, and that this was due to the recognition, by all present, of the grave position of Foreign Affairs. It can be claimed that the Prime Ministers of each of the Dominions were already prepared, before they left their countries, to make whatever concessions were necessary for a united defence policy; that can be seen from the speeches made by the Premiers before they left for England.

By the time the Dominion representatives had gone home, it was seen that they placed a very considerable confidence in the British Foreign Office, laying only stress on one point, that no stone should be left unturned to keep friendly with each of the different groups in Europe. There was, possibly, a feeling that some members of the Foreign Office might be too uncompromisingly anti-German or anti-Fascist, and it was suggested, that if possible, something should be done to ease the position in regard to both those countries; this is now being done.

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Australasia now realises her almost complete dependence on Great Britain for protection, not only against a Japanese assault, but if China should ever revive herself, also against a future, very serious, Chinese trade competition.

South Africa, which once took pride in stating that she would have next to nothing to do with the British Navy, now realises that the British Navy is her only real defence against possible Italian or German aggression in the future. With two and a half million Whites, scattered throughout Africa, and over two million of them in the South African Commonwealth alone, she should be the leader of White opinions, but since Italy's advent to Abyssinia, she can only be so with the support and protection of Great Britain.

Canada has probably been the most difficult of all the Dominions to deal with, largely because she has felt herself, up till now, more or less secure on the American Continent. Whether her people admit it or not, there is much truth in the statement that constant broadcasting and the influx of innumerable daily papers and weeklies and monthlies, from the United States, have given many of her people a feeling that she wants to be rid of European intrigue and that she is part of the centre of a new sort of civilisation, full of ideals and dreams and hopes. Many of her citizens have felt that they would never go to war again, for what is loosely termed, British Imperialism, and that it would only be for some idealistic cause, sponsored by the League of Nations, such as a war with Italy over Abyssinia, that she would fight again side by side with Great Britain. But now Japan looms larger on the horizon and the Canadians are not so sure.

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When Mr. Mackenzie King was pressed in the Parliament at Ottawa, by those Nationalist supporters of Canadian Isolation, his reply was clear and emphatic, that he would take the fullest part in the defence of the British Empire.

To-day these Premiers are at home, fully confident that the Foreign Office is doing the best that is possible under very difficult circumstances, and even the Irish Free State has now become willing, under certain conditions, to take its part in such defence. The world therefore, that was concerned three years ago at the weakness of the Empire, and at the signs, as they thought, of her breaking up, are to-day faced, not only with an immense re-armament programme, but with an entirely united commonwealth of nations which will soon be ready to take a far more influential part in world and peace affairs than was ever thought likely to be seen again.

The way in which our political leaders and the leaders in the Dominions have felt their way since the War and brought us to this position, are deserving, to my mind, of no small amount of admiration. And in this connection, one must very definitely also point to the careful manner in which our Foreign Office has done all it possibly could, given the weapons it was allowed.

Earlier on in this book, I tried to explain how we started in those war-weary years, after 1918 an almost entirely new experiment, giving the vote to people without any experience whatsoever, of government or of foreign countries. It seemed to us, then, and it still seems, to, I think, the majority of people in this country, that though it was a great adventure and indeed a gamble, yet if it succeeded, we were laying a solid foundation

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for steady peace in the Empire and for a prevention of extremist moves either to the Left or to the Right, than could be achieved by any other method. We were putting our trust in the common sense of the peoples of all our countries and it was obvious that before they could be fully educated, some things would have to be lost and some risks taken. The first thing to which we had to bow, was the determination of the peoples of this Empire, that as they had fought a war to end war, everything possible should be done to ensure permanent peace.

Now that we look back on it, and that is such an easy thing to do, we see how many were the mistakes of the leaders at Versailles, and yet how certain can any of us be that were we to have done anything else, things would have turned out, in the long run, any better? What has actually happened? All through the Nineteen-Twenties and into the beginning of this decade, we remained dangerously unarmed, hoping that other countries would follow our lead; more than that we could not do. Should our leaders, who must, in the latter years have known that there was but little hope of this permanent peace, have told the country and insisted on immediate rearmament? It is a moot point, but I do not think that many of the young men of my own age, who are interested in politics, can really accuse the Government of having done wrong.

During all that time, we had this new electorate which had to be taught, and had to be taught at a price; the electorate insisted on numerous fresh social reforms; there was a very good case to be made out for every single one of them, but even as it was, their burden was

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too great for the country's finances and we crashed badly in 1931. What would have happened had we suggested at that period, a strong re-armament policy? It would have been as manna to the Socialist leaders. They too, knew what was happening in the world, but they wanted power and they shut their eyes blindly to facts all round them. All the Conservatives could do, until the electorate was properly educated, was to put a brake on this prodigal policy; for if they were to give the Socialists an opportunity of power, it could mean nothing more than a rake's progress for the country, which might then indeed, have gone too far for any possibility of recovery. Those years of 1929 to 1931 are proof enough of the truth of my contentions. Moreover it must be remembered that the people in this country had got themselves so completely convinced that there never would be another war and that none of them need ever fight again, that a shock of a re-armament policy, either during the Government of 1924 to 1929, or in the beginning of the present National Government, would have been more than they could have been expected to stand, or to understand.

All this may sound uninspiring as a policy for a great nation, but I myself can think of nothing more inspiring than to find a leader such as Lord Baldwin, faced with twenty million adults in this country, and given only a few years in which to teach them their responsibilities and to break down class barriers and class distinction of a snobbishness, which is to-day entirely unknown in most of the rest of the world; at the same time to take no false step that would alienate young Dominions, scattered all over the world, ill informed about conditions in

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Europe and about conditions anywhere outside their own territories. And in all this time to have to try and steer a foreign policy that would protect our trade and make us be still respected throughout the world for our ideals and our freedom. And last, but not least, to try and keep the League of Nations, of which his country had briefed him in support, from becoming, what many thought it was about to become, nothing more than a powerful alliance of a few nations, directed like all alliances, for the preservation of their own interests. More than he did, could not have been done, and only loose-thinking fools, be they narrow-minded diehards, or sentimental Socialists, can honestly think very differently.

To discuss a future policy here, without having any of the secret information, which no doubt is held by the Foreign Office and the Cabinet, would be as pointless and as unfruitful as are the many harmful resolutions passed by such groups as the League of Nations Union and other bodies, who show more and more by the pronouncements of their leaders, how little they know of what they are talking about, and how completely wrong and out of touch with actual facts, are often so many of their leaders. But it is not unfruitful to state something of what one sees when abroad, are the difficulties facing Great Britain to-day, and what I have found amongst post-War men and women in this country and from all parts of it, to be their reactions, as to world affairs.

To begin with, there is a tendency in this country for people to think that we are now re-armed and ready to face any enemy; that is far from the case, in fact re-armament in earnest has hardly really begun in the

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country, as yet. And though we may be about to become air-minded and to have a good Air Fleet and to be well protected against air raids, and even about to develop again a worth-while Fleet, yet we have no army worth speaking of and hardly any of our young men seem willing to join it. There may be some reason for this, in a lack of modern comforts in the barracks and in training; but there is no doubt about it, in the minds of many who ought to know, that recruits are not forthcoming, partially because of paid agitators from the Communist Party and partially because Socialist leaders, who are actually the most bellicose in the Houses of Parliament, have not the courage to insist upon a recruiting campaign in the country. But the greatest reason of all is probably that the women and girls in this country will not tell their young men that they want them to go. Snobbishness is in our very bones and if the women were to make it fashionable for the men to join the Army, and that from the top right down to the bottom, then we would not be long in insuring peace for this country. We do not need an army large enough to invade European countries, but to-day we are still below the strength necessary to protect these shores as well as to police the Colonies.

Given the recruits we still could not be properly re-armed, for at least another two or possibly three years. In the meantime we must do our best to keep up our ideals and if possible not to compromise the future, during these appallingly difficult present days. At the very most, we could be prepared to-day to fight an enemy on possibly two fronts, but it is still beyond our means to contemplate, single-handed, a war in the Far

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East, a war in the Mediterranean Sea and a possible conflict with Germany. This fact is as well known in Germany as it is in England. At Nuremberg last September, one of the most prominent members of the Foreign Office in Berlin told me that the Germans were definitely of that opinion. They realised, however, just as we know, that every day makes the position better and stronger for ourselves. In the meantime, the gravest danger we have to face in Europe, is from the German, Italian and Japanese alliance. I made many inquiries, this last autumn, in Germany, and came away with the impression that Germany had tried to make even temporary friends with Great Britain and was beginning to feel that even that was entirely hopeless. To be permanently friendly with Great Britain, is for Germany, in her present mood, almost a hopeless achievement. She tells us that she insists on the return of all her Colonies, and Herr von Ribbentrop no doubt informs Herr Hitler that he must persist in this demand unceasingly in the near future. For in four or five years time, it will be quite certain that the British will feel strong enough to refuse any such concession.

I have asked on all sides what Germany will do if we do not give up the Colonies; and everywhere I have been met with the same answer, Germany will never go to war for the Colonies. But the next answer has usually had two variations; the Government officials have said, that although she will not go to war, she is determined to make a nuisance of herself in Central Europe, whilst the Hamburg and Bremen shipping magnates have stated that although she will not go to war for her Colonies, she might go to war for something else, and

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then when she had won she would claim her Colonies back. For the German is this time convinced that it was only 'behind the lines' that Germany was defeated in the last war; and that now she will make sure of her food supplies before she strikes, and then she will win.

My conviction, and it is shared by many other visitors to Germany, is that Germany has no real desire for Colonies at all. Her Government is merely working up the propaganda both inside Germany and throughout the world, in order to obtain the sympathy of the world at large against Great Britain. With this sympathy, she would then, possibly, march into one of the minority States surrounding Germany's eastern and southern borders, and would tell a startled world: "We must expand, we must have raw materials and Great Britain will not let us have our Colonies." And it is safe to say, judging from the present reactions in Scandinavia and the Balkans and elsewhere, to those arguments, that British selfishness would be blamed by most of Europe. It would be true also to say, that there are a certain number of people in this country who are being affected by the same propaganda and who tell us that we should allow Germany her Colonies, in order that we may have peace in the world. But anyone who really watches Germany and knows what is happening in that country, as regards other acts of foreign policy, knows perfectly well that such a return of Colonies would only be a useless form of Danegeld. It might be conceivable that we might return some of the Mandates and Colonies in a general resettlement of European and World Affairs; but if even a Conference for such a purpose could ever be brought together, I think it would soon be shown

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that Germany's demands go far beyond anything these seekers-after-peace would even themselves consider feasible.

In spite of all this, there is undoubtedly an element in Germany that wants peace with Great Britain and if the Colonial question were left out of it, it might be quite possible of achievement. The only problems to be solved would be as to what is to happen to Czechoslovakia, to Poland and to the Baltic States.

The first question here is to ask ourselves how far are we interested in the future of these small countries? Naturally we would like to see them independent, since we were partially responsible for the birth of a good many of them; but is anybody, in this country, willing to lay down his life for their protection? A few enthusiasts might be willing to do so, but I am quite certain, and I know most of the young Conservatives, in this country, are equally certain, that the people, as a whole, would never go to war to defend them, except indirectly, if France determined to support some of the Little Entente, were herself attacked. Even then, I think it extremely doubtful that the Dominions would want to come into such a war and they possess every legal right to stay out of it, if they so desire. Is there any reason why several of these States should exist, if their existence is a danger to the peace of the world? Putting things at their most cynical or in their most practical form; if Germany were to obtain parts of Czechoslovakia, she would have a wealth of factories and materials that would compensate her in many ways for her lack of Colonies; and Hungary, in obtaining parts of Slovakia, would become, once again, a nation with

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reasonable borders and with some prospects of prosperity. And one might hope to see less of the poverty and misery that is to be found stalking the back streets of Budapest.

But are things ever likely to reach such a pitch? Possibly not, for years to come. Hitler has a set policy in front of him; and just at the moment, it does not seem to me to include the further annexation of Eastern European territories. He wants the German minority to have perfect liberty to follow Nazi ideals; this may sound absurd to those trained in pre-War Europe to consider that each State must have complete sovereignty over all her territories. Hitler wants economic control more than anything else, in Eastern Europe, and after he has obtained that, I am quite convinced he, personally, does not want to contemplate any wars.

Not so the German Army; the leaders of the Army, to my mind, however friendly they may feel officially, towards Great Britain, are still smarting under the humiliation of the defeats of 1918 and look one day for an eventual reckoning with the British Empire. But those leaders, in the Army, are fast losing control. The new soldiers of to-day and the new young officers are imbued with the ideals of Herr Hitler; they do not want war so much as a German Crusade, and this seems to me quite possible of achievement without a war.

A typical proof of this is the annexation of Austria. Here you have a country, about which the average British citizen knows extremely little, except the superficial facts of the great charm of the Austrian scenery and the Austrian people. We forget that Austria too, is entirely German and that Austria also, had a Totalitarian Government with concentration camps and plenty of

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prisons for those who opposed the authority of the Chancellor, who did not dare to have an election or a plebiscite, for a number of years. There is one great difference between Austria and Germany, it is in regard to the position of the Catholic Church. Ninety per cent. of the population of Austria is Catholic, 30 per cent. of the population of the German Reich is also Catholic. Now that Austria has been swallowed up in Germany and placed directly under the authority of Berlin, the German Government will find the Catholic percentage increased from 30 per cent. to over 50 per cent. This possibly would not matter if Hitler was at peace with Catholicism, but at the time of writing, the war with the Vatican is only commencing in its full intensity.

Can Hitler really contemplate, with any satisfaction, the possibility of taking into his country no less than five million Roman Catholics? It is a moot point, how ardent are those Catholics, but it would be safe to say that however much the peasants may at times feel anti-clerical as regards their local parish priests, the fact that they have been for many centuries untouched by any Protestant or other non-Catholic influence, leaves them in a position in which the actual fundamental doctrines of the Catholic Creed must remain sacred and inviolable. Moreover, the Catholic prelates of Austria have not been asleep within the last five years. They have seen the dangers of National Socialism and they have had complete liberty, a thing their brother prelates in Germany, have never had, to contradict and expose every fallacy preached in Germany, since the advent to power of the Hitler regime. The 90 per cent. of Austrians who are Catholics know too much about Nazi methods and

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suppression of religion, to be really welcome guests within the Reich. Hitler's most sensible policy would surely first have been an economic agreement with Austria, though Austria is so poor, she could hardly be a great asset to Germany. Given also complete liberty for the activities of his own Nazi supporters throughout Austria, Hitler might then reasonably argue, if he has faith in his followers, that in five years time he would have sufficiently undermined the position of the Catholic Church, to make it feasible to bring about a complete and almost unnoticeable swallowing up of Austria.

To-day, Herr Hitler's prestige, as a diplomatist of a new school, stands high. But the Roman Catholic Church has also won a great prestige from history, as being not incapable of getting what she wants by biding her time; and it remains to be seen whether she will not be able, in the years to come to influence with her increased numbers inside the Reich, the whole policy of the Nazis.

In each of the other countries near to Germany, without going into details about their history, we can find somewhat similar arguments for an unwillingness on the part of Hitler to swallow them up. Indeed, not so long ago, a prominent Nazi, feeling expansive, after a good dinner in Berlin, pointed out to me how much he and his friends dreaded the possibility of Germany obtaining all she wanted too soon and too easily. The first thing needed for Germany, he pointed out, was complete unity; and how could that be possibly achieved by a sudden inrush of millions of half-Nazis and anti-Nazis? Germany he felt, is only at her best when she is suffering and when she has her back to the wall. Then comes out

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the spirit of self sacrifice, which the Nazis consider an essential part of their creed. If things become too easy for Germany, in the near future, the people will rebel against the restrictions of Naziism and the hard Cromwellian life its followers advocate. Nobody will deny such a possibility, nor that it might easily lead to a civil war, such as is being waged in Spain to-day, and the lack of keenness, even now, amongst the younger members of the Hitler Youth, seems like a writing on the wall. A further rumble of a distant danger can be heard in the increased stress laid on the teaching in Nazi schools of the doctrine, that where Germany grew weak, was when her princes decided to spread beyond the realm and to move down into the warmer atmosphere of what Bismarck termed the "female races of Europe".

If Germany does obtain tremendous economic advantages and great strength either from annexation or from the economic control of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, will that really be a danger to the British Empire? Economically, I cannot see it. From a military point of view, possibly, yes. But, is there any reason why a Nazi Germany, no longer controlled by a Prussian military caste, should ever need to fight Great Britain again? There seems no clear reason. Americans and people from the New World, accustomed to large territories, and to great nations, feel puzzled about Europe and what seems to them the ridiculously petty hatreds and the stupid frontier formalities, that in many places east of Paris, make it almost impossible for you to get a good night's rest in your sleeper on the train, thanks to the number of customs and passport officials that bother you on your journey through the night. If there were to be one great

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Central European nation, most of our Dominions would not cavil at such a proposition. To them it would spell peace, and may be the sooner it comes about, the better for all concerned who have not vested interests.

There are Conservatives in this country who argue that that is all very fine, but that now is the time to stop Germany expanding before it is too late. For once she has become too powerful, she will spread in the East, and then try and dictate to us possibly together with Japan, on the borders of India or possibly the Persian Gulf. They will remind you how we could have stopped Germany in 1866 and how 1866 led to 1870 and 1870 led to 1914. But one might go still further back and say that other things led to 1866; one cannot foresee the trend of World Affairs to that extent. If the whole tradition of a British Government is not even to commit the country to a policy at home that cannot be repealed, at most, five years later, by the vote of the country, how can we possibly be justified in sacrificing the lives of our people abroad because we think, without any absolute certainty, that something which is being done to-day, with a reasonable amount of justification, may lead in twenty or thirty years time, to a policy that we could not tolerate and that we might not then be strong enough to resist? Such would be against all the traditions of British foreign policy and of the British system of government. We cannot go in for a policy of complete 'Safety First'; our whole strength comes from our past and our present opportunism. We will protect our interests and our trade, in the best way possible, the moment they are attacked, and for the moment it would be difficult for a fair-minded Briton to be convinced that they are being

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attacked in Central Europe. We know, however, that they are definitely in grave danger in the Far East, and we have to face the unpleasant fact that we have not to-day an army or a navy strong enough to fight in the Far East and to protect us at the same time from our enemies in Europe.

This is the main reason why Britain must face realities in Europe and forget a little about a policy of altruistic idealism in Central Europe, in which no other country but ourselves believes. We ask our Foreign Office to make peace secure with Germany and Italy; but we do not realise how difficult that is to do. Again the reason for this is that we are a nation of traditions and we do not change our foreign policy lightly, nor too quickly.

In France, we have a good neighbour and a former ally on whom we can, up to a point, depend. She, like ourselves, is democratic, and it is as well to remember that she still possesses the strongest army in the world. It is true that she suffers, at the moment, from internal dissensions, but let any foreign nation put one foot on French soil then I think it is safe to say France would immediately become united, as one man. So, no doubt, would Great Britain and the whole Empire; but what worries the smaller nations of the world, is that neither of our countries has any desire, at the moment, to take offensive rather than defensive action. However much the French Governments may change their internal policy in foreign affairs, their line of action moves as slowly and as surely as does our own. That is why the British Foreign Office has felt in recent years, that France is the most reliable friend for us to possess in the present world troubles.

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To form any kind of agreement with Germany or Italy is difficult, because it means forming an agreement, not with a nation nor even with an oligarchy who may control the country and whose policy, from day to day, can be reasonably foreseen. But it means making an agreement with Herr Hitler or Signor Mussolini, two gentlemen who, however unwilling they may be to admit to the title, are considered by most people to be Dictators. And they are very apt, both of them, to be influenced by sudden bursts of rage or even ill health, not to mention the ordinary weaknesses of human beings, such as jealousy, hate, vengeance and disappointment, and not least of all the blind insanity of fear.

Conceding such difficulties for the Foreign Office, we, many of us, hope that before long some form of friendship may be brought about between France and Germany; and if that is possible, then Great Britain too, might join in. To-day we need have little fear of Italy alone, so long as she does not obtain preponderating influence in Spain, and agreement with her should be a little easier to obtain than with Germany. But somehow or another it becomes daily more imperative for us to clear up the European situation, if we possibly can, else we may lose what is far more valuable to us in the Far East.

CHAPTER XVII

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IN the previous chapter, I pointed out that at the present crucial moment we have not got sufficient strength to face a possible war on a European front and in the Far East. Of the two parts of the world, the Far East is economically of greater importance to us and from an Empire point of view, I think, is also more vital. As we look back into history, we see ourselves, watching the great Powers of Europe, rising and falling, whilst in one war, we take one side, and very often in the next, the other side. We satisfy our consciences by terming this the traditional policy of 'the balance of power'. As the years go on, we see ourselves becoming more powerful and being courted more assiduously by every group of Powers. The reason is because, during all these periods, we have slowly but surely developed our trade in directions away from the warring Europeans, out into the Far East and into the Americas. After each war, in which we have had any success or supported the winning side, we have taken for ourselves, as a reward, the Colonies of our enemy. We have then retired into our own shells and left Europe to work out her own problems; during these times we have always consolidated our gains in the furthestmost parts of the world, and by the time that Europe has got herself ready for another

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war we have ourselves come back, each time a little stronger, and then decided whom we wish to support.

In this way, we gradually developed our trade with India, our interests in India and finally our annexation of the whole Empire. Further East, we developed, within the last hundred years, interests and a trade with China which has become of vital importance to this country. We are too apt to think that the Oriental is completely cut off from knowledge of the world, we forget the wireless, modern transport and the number of Orientals that are educated in Europe and in America. We are right, however, to remember that the Far East and the Near East still believe in strength and in the keeping up of one's dignity, which is commonly called 'face-saving'. If we lose all our interests in the Far East, it will only be a stepping-stone to troubles in India and nearer home, and we must not forget how serious would be the loss of a possible market of over four hundred million people, to the workers in every part of Great Britain. Whether we like it or not, Germany and her neighbours are practically cut off to us from a trade point of view, and we must not allow the influence of those who still have interests to protect or to salvage in Germany or in Italy, to blind us to the far more serious situation in the Far East. What, in a nutshell, has been happening?

The Japanese Empire closed her doors to all foreign countries, for no less than three hundred years. She only gave up this position a little over sixty years ago, well within the lifetime of numbers of people in this country; her position then, was literally this, the vast majority of what we would call her illiterate population, considered that there was only one other civilized country in the

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world, and that was called China. Beyond China were vast territories and islands, where lived people whom the Japanese considered had red hair and big noses and were usually about six feet tall; to the Japanese a giant-like size. They believed this because the Government had for three hundred years, allowed a small settlement of Dutchmen to live on a small piece of territory, or to be more precise, on the outskirts of a town on the southern Japanese coast. Here they were allowed to carry out a certain amount of trade with the Japanese, and since the Dutch seemed to be fair-haired and tall and hooked-nosed, the Japanese presumed everyone else looked like them. Only a few natives were allowed to learn the Dutch language, in order to speak to these people. No Japanese was allowed to go abroad; if he did so without permission, he was beheaded on his return.

In spite of all this, the Japanese had managed to develop on somewhat similar lines to ourselves. They had the equivalent of the Bank of England, several years before the idea was thought of in this country. In the Eighteenth Century they developed Stores, on the lines that made Woolworths popular over one hundred and fifty years later; cash was insisted on and all goods were sold cheaply. Advertising too, developed in the Eighteenth Century and in the climate of Tokyo, which is very similar to the climate of London, the little Japanese ladies, in their beautiful and fragile kimonos, often found themselves in the midst of the Store, caught in a shower of rain. The firm immediately presented them with attractive paper umbrellas; but in large letters on the tops of the umbrellas, was the name of the Mitsui firm. Whether they liked it or not, these little ladies had

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to rush through the city, their umbrellas announcing the fact to everyone that they had just been in the Mitsui Store.

During the last two hundred years, there was no such thing as a war in Japan, though the Japanese often fought a kind of skirmish warfare between themselves. There were gradually developing in the country, two separate Parties. One was headed by the Shogun, who in actual fact, was the Totalitarian ruler of the State; he recognised, however, as his nominal superior, the Emperor, who lived as a prisoner in the sacred city of Kyoto, where he held very much the position of the Pope in Rome. The Shogun's enemies, in the Nineteenth Century, began to develop the always latent idea, that the Emperor was a God and the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess, and that the people of Japan themselves were descendants of lesser Gods who had come down from heaven with the Emperor's ancestor, to clear beautiful Japan of its Aborigines population and to make it the most sacred land in the world, since it was the one chosen by the Sun Goddess. As they developed this theory, it obviously became more difficult for the Shogun, since it is not easy for an independent power to exist in a country, if by any chance it runs counter to the will of a God. At the same time, it is worth remembering that during all those three hundred years, Japan kept her physical fitness, by wrestling and by taking part in numerous sports which were given a sacred character; and it is also worth remembering that the way in which the Shogun's government was run was by a system of internal espionage, which made everybody in the country distrust everybody else.

Eventually the Emperor's party overthrew the Shogun

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and a constitution was given to Japan. About the same time, the Americans and the British and other countries, interested in the trade of China, began to hear great stories of the possible wealth of Japan. The American Admiral Perry, visited the shores of what to-day is Tokyo. It was the beginning of the end; Japan's barriers were forced down and she found herself just another country, competing in the world. The Japanese very cleverly realised that it would be a mistake to continue all the Oriental customs; the Western nations must be studied and copied, and then defeated; after which, Japan could go back to whatever she thought worth while in her past; she will soon go back to it.

The Japanese looked round the world, they saw the Germans march into Austria; they saw the powerful German army defeat the French Emperor in 1870. They studied how the British governed India with a tiny army, and held together her Colonies with a great fleet. As the years went by, they noticed that their neighbour, China, the only neighbour with whom they were intimately connected, gradually had to concede concession after concession to the powerful British, French and Americans. Obviously, they reasoned, the only way to be successful in the world, was to have a powerful army and a powerful fleet, and so they set about preparing one. It was not too difficult a task, for they already had a feudal system which could form the nucleus for a modern army. And they sent their future army officers to Germany to study, what they considered, the finest military methods in the world. They sent their naval officers to Great Britain, for there they could best learn the traditions of our fleet. Also to Great Britain, and to

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America, went their business students, to study factory methods and the secrets of machinery.

Above all these, in social position and in influence, were the Princes and the Peers of Japan, the largest land-owners and the personal friends of the God-Emperor. They too, felt they must study Western methods, and in the 'seventies and the 'eighties of the last century, they sent their sons and heirs to the most cultured capital in Europe, namely to Paris. But in Paris they found an intellectual influence, which was distinctly democratic and international, and they brought this influence back to Japan. Those people have still a great influence at Court to-day; the oldest of them is Prince Saionji, the last of the Elder Statesmen. Their influence can be said to have made the Court distinctly Liberal, and their sons and grandsons are in the Foreign Office, in the big banks and in official positions, surrounding the Emperor.

In 1905 the Japanese found they were strong enough to defeat the Russian army, and from that day onwards they have gained a confidence, which could be said to be also partially an inferiority complex; they feel determined to show the world that they are as good as the White men and in many ways even better. Next came the Great War and the Japanese loyally supported their allies, the British. They claim, to this day, and with some justification, that had Japan not been on the British side, the troops and the material and the food, sent from Australia and New Zealand, could never have reached Great Britain; and the British might never have won the War. It is a point to be remembered. The thanks they received was to be given little or nothing in the Peace Treaties, and to be snubbed by the British a few years later, in the

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Washington Treaty, where we refused to renew our Japanese Alliance at the request of America, who added the insult of barring the Japanese, because of their colour, from further settlement in the United States.

By this time, the Japanese army and the Japanese fleet were approaching a very considerable standard of strength and they were surprised to see the great European nations suddenly developing a policy, in which there were to be no more wars; the armies and navies were to be cut down wholesale. The Japanese, who had not yet got the World Empire they desired, were more than annoyed that the nations, who seemed to have everything, were now insisting on disarmament, just at the moment when Japan was beginning to feel really strong.

Naturally the Japanese were annoyed and unwilling to cede in strength more than they had to. They bided their time and then came the incident of Manchukuo.

At that time, in the whole Far East, there was, practically speaking, only one great nation belonging to the League of Nations, namely Great Britain, (other than of course Japan.) Had sanctions been in force at that time, Great Britain would have been the only country present, called upon to enforce them, since neither Russia nor America were League members. The British felt they could not do this, largely because the Socialists, three years previously, had openly refused to have anything to do with sending out troops to protect our own people's interests in Shanghai. And it seemed to many of us unbelievable to think that where the Socialists would not hear of British soldiers being sent out to protect from insult and injury, the British women and children in Shanghai, they would be any more willing to allow

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troops to defend the Chinese War Lords of Manchukuo from the Japanese. I remember so well the Socialist meetings of 1928, and how my Socialist opponent worked up enthusiasm against the Conservatives, for trying to be interested in British business in Shanghai. But to-day, I frequently hear those Socialists whom I meet, discussing the disgraceful behaviour, as they call it, of the Conservatives in 1931, when they did not send out troops, or enforce sanctions, by themselves, to uphold what no other member of the League of Nations was willing to risk a life or a shilling to protect. They maintain that this was the start of the downfall of the League of Nations; and if they are correct, it was the fault of the spineless Socialist leaders some time before and of no one else.

The British Government went as far as it possibly could, without support or munitions at home. And that far, was in itself injudicious; for it was just far enough to make a Japanese nation, which at that moment, owing to labour troubles, was far from united into a nation that felt the world was against her and that the world was led by her former ally, Great Britain. She felt we had stabbed her once again in the back; every working-man pulled in his belt and prepared for a lengthy struggle. But to the amazement of all Japanese, there was no struggle at all, no sanctions were enforced, China gave way, and the Japanese realised they had called Geneva's bluff. From then on, it was only a question of time and every day has made the Japanese more contemptuous of the White man.

The Japanese army had never been any more popular in Japan, than soldiers have been in China. But after 1931, the Army found itself with considerable prestige

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and unexpected power. The Army was determined not to lose this and has gradually forced the Navy into a position of support. The Army has gone on the principal that Japan must be freed from the danger of any great Power being too near her; the most obvious of such Powers, is Russia; everything should be done to force Russia back from the coast of Siberia. The best means of doing this is to obtain a controlling interest in Northern China, and this would also mean a considerable accession of raw materials. In this way, the Army forced its policy on the Japanese Government; and in order to keep the Japanese people quiet and to provide the funds, more factory work had to be done, more goods had to be sold, and the people had to be imbued with a greater religious patriotism. This would develop into unquestioned loyalty and into a greater simplicity of living made necessary by the lack of funds. Continuous successes were needed to keep this policy popular.

In the meantime, what had been happening in China? Over four hundred million people live in that Continent, which can hardly be called a Nation, since the Mandarin-speaking Chinese of the north cannot even understand the Cantonese-speaking people of the South. Militarism for a thousand years has been unpopular in China, and the profession of a soldier has been the most despised of all professions.

During the days of the Empress Dowager, the laws of Peking ran unquestioned throughout the whole Empire. But after that and after the Revolution, the whole country broke up into a series of areas, governed by war-lords. The Chinese believe fundamentally in family life and in the possession of their own small bits of land; they are

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not by nature Nationalists, they are merely anti-foreign. As a protest against the blood-sucking of the war-lords and the moneylenders, Communism spread throughout China, but the Communism was nothing more than a feeling of anti-landlordism and anti-moneylenders. After a time, the Chinese realised that Russia, just as much as Japan, was trying to get a controlling influence over the country. Chiang Kai-shek, the most brilliant of the war-lords, decided, with the aid of his able wife, to do all in his power to rid China, first of Russia and then of Japan, and possibly later on, of the European countries as well. For the first and second part of his policy, he had the willing financial co-operation of the Europeans. They felt the latter part of his policy was far enough off, not to worry, and could at any rate, be eventually dealt with by compromise.

Then began China's race against time; bit by bit Chiang Kai-shek beat back the Communists far into the Interior and crushed or compromised with war-lord after war-lord. The wireless and the aeroplane were brought to his assistance; better-off young Chinese, educated in America or Europe, rushed back to their country and offered their assistance. Education was the first necessity and an awakening of China was attempted on all sides. No easy task, this; and like the Japanese, Madame Chiang Kai-shek realised the people must be given a religious belief in the future of their race, must be made to sacrifice, if that were possible in their poverty, any bits of luxury they might have been accustomed to, and the New Life Movement was started on Fascist lines, to see what could be done.

Not all China, unfortunately, was working with

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Chiang Kai-shek; most important of all, the Cantonese, held out for several years, but then they too came under the influence of Nankin. Japan rubbed her eyes, her business men looked at China with alarm. If the Chinese were to develop in this way and their industries increase, China would one day put Japan out of the market for international trade. Japanese business men began to realise that their interests were now bound up with their own army. Chiang Kai-shek knew that the only way he could hold his country together was by resisting the continuous advance into the country of the Japanese. Frantically he pushed forward his preparations; roads were rapidly built into the Interior and the people were prepared as fast as it was possible for a patriotic resistance to the enemy.

Then came the crash; perhaps a little too soon for China, but certainly most unexpectedly for Japan. The Japanese were not prepared to take on the whole of China, and yet they have had to do so. The history of the fighting in the recent months must be too well known to be repeated here.

Suffice it to say that, at the time of writing, Japan has consolidated her gains along the Coast and she will next strike at Canton and so push Chiang Kai-shek and his army, for what it is worth, back into the Interior. The Generalissimo and his brave wife will never submit; they would seem destined, in the years to come, to have to fight a guerrilla warfare against the Japanese. Much of the interior land will probably break up in chaos, or be swallowed up by the Russian influence, for already Russian advisers and volunteers are pouring into the country.

The Japanese themselves will have an almost insur-

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mountable task, their lines of communication will be colossal. Their sixty million population will be called upon to control nearly two hundred million semi-resisting Chinese. Will they be able to do it? That is what nobody knows. Maybe the immense increase of markets and of great resources, will give them the necessary wealth. Maybe the strain will be too much for their system at home and a Fascist Revolution or a Communist Revolution may lead to a complete breakdown. Or maybe again, we are under-estimating their capabilities as we have under-estimated them before. And having conquered that area, their Navy will be given its turn and allowed to move towards the Dutch islands of the South and towards Australasia or even India.

Whatever may be the future, it is quite certain that in none of the developments that I have outlined above, do the British or Americans find any place. And yet, in the trade and development both of China and Japan, but especially of the former, Great Britain and her Dominions, as well as the United States, could have found almost undreamt of possibilities. So indeed, also, could Germany and Italy have found their place. But while the Yellow Races are deciding amongst themselves the future of Asia and possibly the future of the world, Nero is in very truth, fiddling in Europe 'whilst Rome burns'.

The Japanese have learnt only too well in the years gone by, the secrets of our factories and of our deadly weapons of war. They have not the scruples of the Europeans in regard to their use, for the Japanese military mind is not the same as the cultured mind of the Japanese gentleman; and we have seen enough in the last few months of Japan's, and even of China's disregard for

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life, to realise, that in very truth, the Yellow Peril is upon the world. If that is not a hundred times more dangerous than the petty squabbles of Central Europe, then what is? The whole world of the past runs the risk of being broken up by Oriental peoples, whose modern machines were invented by the Europeans, and the Europeans stand by doing nothing, and each distrusting the other. The Chinese had a race against time to develop their civilisation and their own co-ordination, before the Japanese should attack to break them. But China seems temporarily to have lost the race. The British to-day are having a race against time to be re-armed and to be strong enough, with the Americans, to go forward and if possible, still save something of the wreckage in the Far East. It still is not too late, if only our hands could be freed in Europe. Then we might indeed have the best of all worlds, for we would be a strongly re-armed nation; re-armed by the free-will of all the peoples of the Empire who have studied their own position, learnt what their democracy really is, and developed themselves into the strongest group of Powers in the world.

That done, the British Empire and the United States could turn if they wished, to the League of Nations and bring about its reform; but the need of these great Democracies to-day is first and foremost to protect themselves and to consolidate their scattered but very real strength. With that goes hand in hand, the necessity of protecting their trade interests in the East and only then can they spare the time to help disentangle those thorny problems of European settlement.

To a certain type of idealist mind in the Empire and the United States, this all may sound a little too cynical

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and a little too sudden to be swallowed. Well-known Left Wing professors have told me they think our lack of preparation is one of the greatest indictments against the Capitalist system in this country. These men have truly short memories. With their heads in the clouds, they brought this country to the brink of ruin in 1931. With their soft voices and lofty thoughts, they went round pouring a pernicious opium into the ears of the unemployed and the struggling workers of this country. They told them often, in my own hearing, that every other country in the world wanted peace and brotherhood and that it was only the Conservatives of Great Britain or the Capitalists of America who wanted Armament firms to prosper and Imperialist wars for their own ends. The people, maddened by the sufferings of the last Great War and worked up into a neurasthenic state of nerves by the Yellow press of each country, did not know whom to believe and felt, because these men were students in libraries and dreamers from their childhood, that they must be right. It made it absolutely impossible for the Conservative leaders of this country to start re-armament before they did, or to pursue a more positive policy towards foreign countries. To do so would have meant that they would have been swept out of office; a proof of which can be seen in the strength of feeling at the time of the Hoare-Laval incident. What would that have meant? A regime of dreamers enforcing what they could not enforce and inevitably leading us to a war of defeat.

If the Conservative Party feels that the first thing the Empire wants and needs is to learn to govern herself, then the Empire must learn her lesson and be prepared to pay for it. She seems now to have learnt that lesson, to

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be ready to re-arm and she wants to protect her interests and her ideals. It is a race against time whether she will be able to succeed in so doing; but at no time should she put the blame for lack of success on the Conservative leaders.

No Government has been returned in Britain, no Dominion Premier has been sent to London, with a purely Conservative mandate since the War. Our Conservative leaders have known that breaking down class warfare was the most essential thing in this country, to save us from Fascism or Revolution. They have succeeded wonderfully, and with a nation behind them, must now go out broadmindedly to see if quarrels and grievances cannot be patched up and also to look after the Empire's trade interests.

Some people will tell us this is a Nineteenth Century idea and that the League of Nations and the friendships of all people, is the Twentieth Century idea. How they can say this, with the hatreds and enmities that are growing greater every day throughout Europe and Asia, I cannot imagine. It seems to me the most criminal form of misrepresentation of the present situation to place before the man who has not the time to see for himself. These dreamers are so divorced from actualities that they run the greatest risk of bringing civilisation to extinction. There is only one chance for the future sanity of the world in the next few years, and that is a strong and united British Empire, working in conjunction with a prosperous United States. And it is the most hopeful sign on the horizon that the traditions of the British Empire are at last being recognised by the peoples of the Empire themselves, and being appreciated.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DOMINIONS AND MIGRATION

FOR many years, the Liberals of Great Britain as well as the Socialists, practically ignored the possibilities of the Colonies and the Dominions. They have managed to instil into the minds of a vast number of people in this country such an interest in international affairs, or rather such an inaccurate appreciation of international incidents, when they arise, that it becomes almost impossible to get the British public to read anything about the British Empire. If a number of Hungarian peasants are found starving on the plains of Hungary, no doubt because of the mis-rule at some time of their superiors, it is almost certain that there will be an appeal in the British press to help the starving children of Hungary, and it is quite on the cards that a relief mission will go out almost at once.

If those Hungarian peasants, however, show enterprise and fortitude and at some period, sell up all their worldly goods, and with the spirit of real adventure, not knowing what is in front of them, set sail for Canada, we will only be informed of the fact at the bottom of the page. Later, these peasants go to the Prairie Provinces and settle down, not speaking a word of the English language. If as is probably happening to-day, these same Hungarian peasants find themselves again starving on

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the Canadian plains through drought or through the slump, which after all is no fault of their new Government, no one will be in the least bit interested in Great Britain, there will certainly be no relief mission, and equally certainly, no appeal to assist them. Substitute for Hungarian any other group in our Dominions, especially English, Irish or Scottish, and you will find exactly the same thing happens; it is not news, nobody is interested.

A little while ago Mr. Amery appealed on the wireless for greater co-ordination within the Empire and pointed out how the British Empire and the United States were practically the last great areas of the world left, where freedom of thought and speech and self-Government institutions were allowed to flourish. He was answered by a keen supporter of the League of Nations, that it was perfectly ridiculous to claim the ideals he mentioned were distinctively British or American. Everybody in the world, said this speaker, or if not everybody, at least large numbers in every country, had exactly the same desire for freedom and independence.

This is a comfortable doctrine for the supporters of Internationalism, but it is not much of an argument at the present day; it is no doubt true that there are groups of people in Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan, who are in sympathy with what Mr. Amery would term, British ideals; but they do not happen to be sufficiently strong in numbers to be of even minor importance in their own countries. Their position there is very similar to the position of Fascists, Nazis and Communists in the British Empire; but no one would say that because there are such sympathetic groups throughout the world,

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that Fascism is not a product of Italy or that Communism is as yet much else than a propaganda weapon for Russian idealists.

No, there is no reason to be ashamed of the fact that Great Britain has for generations taught a form of living and tried out a system of Government for herself and for those connected with her, which has not as yet been followed, for any length of time by the great nations of Europe, with the possible exception of France; and I think there is a very clear distinction between British and French democracy and between British and French ideas for the development of Colonies and Dominions.

The more one travels through the British Colonies and through the great Dominions, the more must one become excited about their possibilities, and the more one wanders through the independent nations of Europe the more does one feel that there is madness, indeed, in Britain when people are more interested in Europe's development than in the strengthening of British ideals in scattered parts of the world. How many of us realise that between the years 1800 and 1900 over twelve million Britons went to the United States of America. They bred large families in those days and we can be sure that their numbers are vastly increased to-day. They did not go on migration schemes, they went because British business men put money into the United States and made it possible for vast works to be carried out in order to develop that land. Many more millions of Europeans followed the British lead and flocked to this new and wonderful country. Had Britain diverted her financial energies to what to-day are the Dominions, the same number of people might have left this country and we

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would possibly have scattered over Australia and Canada and South Africa, maybe another twenty millions of people and what a difference that might have made to the world to-day. If we could have done that a hundred years ago, why can we not do almost the same thing now? The territories are still there, secondary industries are needed, and after money has been provided for them, people will surely follow of their own accord; as much from Great Britain as from other parts of the world. If the Internationalists are really so keen on helping those who have similar convictions as themselves, but who are to-day living in less pleasant surroundings, surely they would be doing far more practical good, if they were to make it possible for these people to settle in our Empire.

This lack of interest in the Empire's possibilities is also to be found to too great an extent amongst the rank and file of the Conservatives. King George V's last words were an inquiry as to whether all was well with the Empire. It can truly be said that that great King devoted his life to developing the Empire and holding it together, and it will always be remembered that his last great concern was for its future. The Royal Family, as I have tried to show elsewhere, have formed the chief visible link for the Commonwealth, and they have sacrificed themselves to a great extent, to strengthen that link. One of the Royal Family, at present living, once told me that she often could not get to sleep at night, worrying as to what more her family could do to strengthen those ties. She added: "It's such a terrible responsibility."

A little of that responsibility might well be taken off the shoulders of the Royal Family. There are many wealthy people in this country, who could well afford to

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give a little of their time to visiting the Dominions and the Colonies instead of going to the Riviera or other places for two and three months at a time. Business men could easily make it possible and worth while for well-to-do young clerks, who hope eventually to get key positions in industry, to go out and study at least one area of the Empire, before they settle down to their London jobs. Far more young men are encouraged by the heads of their businesses to attend the lectures on international affairs, with an occasional talk on the Dominions, which are given twice a week at the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, than are ever encouraged to attend the lectures at the Royal Empire Society or the Overseas League, or to go and study there in the library or to read numbers of Dominion newspapers, and to get some idea from the leading articles as to what people are feeling Overseas.

I have laid stress on this and have referred to it in the chapter on Labour Camps, because now, if ever, is the time to snatch at a great opportunity. Migration will soon be a subject of heated discussion; foreign countries will become less and less suitable for long term investment and the Dominions heartened by the Imperial Conference and awakened to what they stand for by the Jubilee and the Coronation, and by the insults and false propaganda of certain foreign countries, are united with us more than they have ever been before. They are ready to be more friendly and show every sign of being about to help us if we take their hand to make a wonderful Imperial future.

Who would have thought, even a few months ago, that any kind of arrangement with Ireland could be made?

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To-day we know that Ireland insists that Mr. De Valera, (or someone) shall make an arrangement with Great Britain. Foreign countries are puzzled over the attitude of the Irish and frankly do not understand; but the abdication of King Edward VIII brought things to a head, showed up Mr. De Valera's bluff and made it obvious to all who could see that Ireland must remain as much in the Empire as any other Dominion. De Valera stated then that the new King would be recognised by the Irish Free State as King for certain external purposes; and in the long run that is all that any other Dominion, in actual fact, concedes to the Crown.

The next most important thing to a recognition of one Head for external purposes, is the question of joint defence; there again we find the whole Empire, including the Irish Free State, preparing plans for Imperial Defence. It is quite true that South Africa and Australia, and other parts of the Empire, are concentrating on aerial defence, and would seem to be only interested in the defence of their own part of the Empire. But we must not take too seriously the somewhat depressing speeches on these subjects from different Dominion Parliaments, and made by the younger intellectuals in Montreal and Melbourne. These people do not really represent the Dominions in question; and much lip service has to be done to internal political rivalries, when public statements are made. But the statesmen of the Empire know full well that the defence of South Africa might be quite easily lost on the edge of the Suez Canal or that Australia could be as surely defeated at Singapore or even outside the Kiel Canal as in the Australian Bight. And anyway, there seems a mad idea to-day that every country is likely to

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state openly what are her secret lines of defence; how obviously untrue that must be! We are not going to tell the world, and I doubt if we are going to tell even private groups of enthusiastic Imperialists, how we ultimately intend to defend our Empire. No more are the Germans likely to show their most secret methods of defending Berlin against bomb attacks to Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, our under-Secretary at the Home Office and former Private Secretary to the Air Minister. Suffice it that the leading statesmen of the Empire are in agreement since the Coronation and that every one of them has stated publicly his intention that his country shall do her bit.

Over and above the Dominions there is one intensely interesting development and an encouraging one in the Empire. It is in regard to India. A few years ago the Congress Party looked towards Japan with a great hope of future Japanese support. To-day, almost every Indian is horrified at the Japanese developments, and people who were rabidly anti-British are to-day even going to the extent of joining Indian Fascist groups to support the British rule. Bit by bit the Congress Party, having attained power, is learning the lessons of power, and is imposing even severer taxes than the hated British were wont to do in the past. It would be foolish to be too optimistic about the immediate future of India, for there is always likely to be a serious clash over the question of the Federal Legislature, in which extremely democratic Congressmen will be unwilling to sit with the representatives of the autocratic Indian princes. But soon there will be nearly as many people in India as there are supposed to be in the whole Chinese Empire, that is

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nearly four hundred million. And if, as some of us hope, there is a real possibility that there will be a strong and friendly India in the British Empire, then we will find ourselves in an immeasurably stronger position both as regards Imperial Defence and Imperial trade. We must only appeal to those Dominions where there is friction over the question of Indian migration and ask them to remember that a strong and loyal India means a permanent security for the continuance of the Empire's ideals. That things have already reached an optimistic and favourable pass in India to-day, in spite of minor inevitable crises, is due, in my mind, largely to the statesmanlike policy of our Government in the last eight years, in spite of persistent opposition from both Right and Left.

From India, let us turn back to the rest of the Empire and discuss how it is possible to encourage the development of our Dominions. This also brings us to the question of the future of our Colonies.

Those people who speak lightly of handing over Colonies forget the native population. They will even state that the natives, at times, say they would prefer to be under the rule of another country. But our policy of developing native Colonies along the lines of what is termed indirect rule, has been thrashed out often enough in the British Parliament and has been agreed to by Liberals and Socialists as the most suitable method yet known to the world of civilising native races and giving them responsible self-Government one day. It cannot be expected that in twenty years or less, races that have been savages for thousands of years will understand the advantages for them of a system of Government of

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which they have never heard before. We used to believe that some such system was worth while, and its results have not, as far as we can see, given us reason to alter our minds. Suddenly to uproot these ideas and hand over such Colonies and place the direction of affairs in the hands of people with different ideas, can do nothing more than confuse completely the still only slightly-developed native's mind; and his last state would be infinitely worse than his first. We have taken on a duty and it is just as interesting and just as worth while to carry it through to a conclusion as is any effort to build up such new nations in Europe as the Baltic States or the Balkans.

In a different category come some of our oldest Colonies with races living there who are as cultured and proud and more ancient than our own. With them we should be most careful as to how we set about trying to enforce a parliamentary system of government which may be as alien to them as it has proved unsuccessful in many a Western country, such as Germany, or Austria, or Italy. We have good enough traditions to uphold out there in the traditions of our Colonial Service, of our business houses and of our military and naval posts. These traditions we have adapted with great success in the past to each separate Colony and there is only one serious drawback at the present time, and that is in regard to the colour-bar. We still see it constantly in the clubs of Hong Kong or Singapore or Ceylon, not to mention in many social customs in different parts of India.

It was not the tradition of the English in the time of Queen Elizabeth to despise the coloured races, as we see

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in Othello and in the literature of that period. We had no qualms about bowing low before the Great Mogul and the colour question may yet be the cause of our downfall in the Near and the Far East. We must be a lot more careful about it than we imagine; it is the one thing that maddens the Japanese against the White man. It may cause terrible negro problems in the years to come in the United States. It has made for us, in India and Ceylon, some of the bitterest enemies who will never forgive. It may indeed, be the working out of a curse. Not till the days when slavery began and we treated native races as animals, was there any feeling amongst the British stock in Great Britain or in the United States, that coloured people were inferior to Whites. Those slaves may be wreaking their vengeance on us to-day and making it impossible for many White people to treat others as their equals. The Dutch may go too far in inter-marrying and in bringing about a half-caste race that is practically in control in Java to-day. The French may go still further too far in bringing their natives to Europe to humiliate the worst types of White in Paris and Marseilles. But the British often go too far the other way and their snobbish tradition, which may be a power of strength for us in Great Britain, can be more harmful when imitated by our less experienced Australian friends governing New Guinea. I have heard more than one comment from Europeans accustomed to dealing with native races, who have been ticked off by their Australian hosts in Raboul and in the Goldfields, for treating the natives in a friendly manner.

Some people think the ideal treatment is that of the Spaniards towards the Filipinos in the last century. They

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allowed the Filipino no political freedom whatsoever, but they turned him into a Christian and treated him as an equal and a friend. They occasionally inter-married or bred half-caste children, but it was nothing like to the same extent as did the Dutch in Java. After the Spaniards came the Americans and they gave the Filipinos full freedom for education and for a Democratic Constitution. But woe betide any young American seen too frequently in the company of a Filipino boy or girl. There is no question that the average Filipino, were he to have his choice to-day, would prefer the return of the Spaniard to the Philippines, to the presence of the Americans.

I think the majority of Americans understand this attitude but as they feel that their principles insist on their giving democratic Government wherever they have a control, and since they will not mix with colour, they would themselves gladly have done with all form of Colonial enterprise, and this is one of their main reasons for moving out of the Philippines at the present moment.

These few paragraphs have only been written to show the young Briton, be he man or woman, that we have a grave responsibility for over four hundred millions of people, who may be suffering to-day, for all most of us know or care, just as much as are groups of people in Germany or Russia. We worry about the latter, should we not also worry about our own peoples? We are responsible before both God and the world and we leave the whole thing in the hands of a few hard working officials in the Colonial Office, who are quite incapable of voicing their feelings in Parliament or of enforcing their

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monetary desires for the Colonies on the City. That again is a British tradition of the Civil Service, but it is a tradition that can be only justified as long as the voters of this country take a real interest in the development of those Colonies which are directly under their supervision; and which incidentally can still offer in development, untold millions of wealth in trade and commerce.

The Dominions are on their own, but you cannot consider that you have nothing to do with your son, just because he has grown up. If you have brought him up to the same standard and style of living as yourself, and then launched him independently on a world where you expect him to carry on his parents' tradition and to move in the same set, then you still have some responsibility. The son will naturally be very jealous of his independence and will resent your paternal guidance. But unless he is a miracle son, he will occasionally make mistakes and he will occasionally come back to you for more money and for more support. If you have any faith in your own progeny, don't tell him that because he wanted to be independent you will do nothing for him, and that you prefer to help your neighbour's son across the road. Go on giving him as much as you possibly can, unless you are convinced he is going to the dogs.

No one could be aught else but convinced that Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada, have all and every one of them the same steady background as we have. Their recovery, almost without our assistance, from the slump that hit some of them far harder than we were ever hit, or knew about, is proof enough of their wonderful powers. But there is a limit to what young nations can do. I have seen misery in those Dominions,

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unequalled in Great Britain. I have heard of tragic stories of emigrants, which were even worse than those of European exiles to-day. To-day the only possibility for worth-while emigration on a large scale is through such institutions as the Fairbridge Farms, the Barnado Homes or the Christian Brothers. Children and young people are the only ones suitable to be sent out for mass migration. Other most praiseworthy efforts can still be made and should be made for private citizens; but they will always be on a comparatively small scale.

Give to the Dominions, however, the opportunities for developing their secondary industries and you will soon see a natural flow of migration, and suitable migration from these shores and from the northern countries of Europe.

The Ottawa Agreements, one of the first great successes of the National Government, have taken time to be appreciated and to be developed.

Already one by one the Dominions are making trade agreements with Great Britain and as time goes on they should be in a position to make trade agreements with one another. The fact must be faced in this country that the Dominions are determined to have secondary industries of their own. Governments may try to do what they like, but as long as we stick to the very sensible tradition, that business men know best how to run their own affairs, and allow them to do so within reasonable bounds, (such as protection of the employee and the necessities of defence), we will probably find that the business men of the Empire will in the long run work out the most lasting schemes for their trades. The people who took part in negotiating the Ottawa Agreements may

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probably have some doubts about the accuracy of this prophecy. There is no doubt that the friendships of the Empire were often very strained at those meetings and that much sordid haggling went on. As one travelled through the Dominions afterwards, one heard further criticism and constant remarks that the agreements were not always being carried out. But trade is not a philanthropic business and I would suggest to anyone who is worried about the lack of high-mindedness in some of the business people of the Empire, that they should pay some visits in Europe.

Some years ago now the British Colombia Government did all in its power to foster the growth of a particular English company in British Colombia. The project was doing well; suddenly the English company made an agreement with its United States rival to leave the home market of Canada to the American company on condition that the American company withdrew all competition in India. It must not be forgotten that in India and the Colonies, Great Britain has an infinitely vaster market than Canada or Australia is ever likely to become. After the Ottawa Agreement a typical arrangement was reached in the steel industry, where the British agreed not to send light steel to Canada, since the Canadians were producing it themselves; but instead, we were given a free hand in the sending in of heavy steel.

The possibilities of an Anglo-American Trade Agreement may have interesting repercussions in Canada. Whatever way they develop, we must remember that it takes us a week to send our goods or our spare parts to Canada, whereas the United States can send them over the border in a few hours, and if we are thinking of motor

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cars, we must remember that most Canadians want to take their cars for holidays into the United States. Canada, up to the present has, however, one great advantage for her industries in the Empire markets. By putting up high tariffs against United States goods, many United States' companies have moved a subsidiary branch a few miles across the border, and so have given American goods the right to be called Canadian and to penetrate into the rest of the British Empire. It is possible that an Anglo-American Trade Agreement might make it superfluous for the Americans to have these extra factories in Canada, which would hit the Canadians rather hard.

On the other hand there would seem to be one great new possibility for helping the Dominions to develop their secondary industries. It will be remembered that in an earlier part of my book I have pointed out that over two hundred foreign companies have opened up factories in this country for the purpose of overcoming our tariff walls, and that they have been encouraged to come into the distressed areas, where they are to give fresh employment to the workers. I have also shown that in the opinion of some of the officials of the Board of Trade this may not necessarily be a sound economic idea, since the distressed areas may not necessarily be the most suitable centres. Is there any reason why these companies, with all their money, and their future possibilities should not be encouraged to open their factories in the Dominions? The question of distance would not be so very material, since without the tariff walls they would have been content to continue sending their goods by rail or sea across or around Europe. They would still, in the

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Dominions, be allowed entry into our markets, which is what the manufacturer most wants. They would be able to absorb the unemployed at present in the Dominions and they would attract from this country numbers of people likely to make good settlers and to bring up healthy families. Such a possibility is well worth considering, but it necessitates some form of Imperial Commission. We have to-day a Commission sitting to examine the question of the trend of the population in this country; it would be a good thing if each of the Dominions had a similar Commission and if the results were followed up by a joint meeting with migration experts.

There is one other side of Empire life that needs alteration. It might become possible were my ideas of Imperial Labour Camps to be developed.

I mentioned earlier on the great advantages to this country of her snobbishness. It has kept us to our traditions in an amazing way, it has meant that numbers of people still go in for politics, County work and every kind of public work, because they feel they ought to do it and not because they want to earn money. As long as such an educated type takes part in public life, there will be no extreme movements to the left or right in this country. But snobbishness unfortunately has not worked the same way throughout the Empire. The snobbery in our coloured possessions has led to much difficulty and to much suffering. Somehow or other this must be broken down, and as far as I can see the only way that that can be done is by a very forceful example being set by our Royal Family and by their representatives in the Colonies. In addition the business heads of firms can do

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a lot, for at present, in some firms it is grounds for dismissal if a clerk is seen taking out a native or a half-caste.

Snobbery in the Dominions has unfortunately not led to an interest being taken in politics or public life. One can only hope that that also may be altered in the near future. Sometime ago I was speaking to a brilliantly clever Jewish banker in Germany; he pointed out and gave very good reasons for the statement that if the upper classes and the upper middle classes had not completely cut themselves off from public life after the Revolution of 1918 with which they were not in sympathy, there would never have been an opportunity for the Hitler regime to come into power. They were the educated and level headed people of the country and now they would seem to have lost influence for good. The same danger seems to me to exist in the British Empire. The upper classes and the upper middle classes in Great Britain take part in British public life but with few exceptions, they are not interested in studying the Dominions or the Colonies or, in helping in any of the many ways in which voluntary work can be done to make an understanding more easy. The same applies to the same classes in the Dominions; no Empire can afford to allow such a class to exist without pulling its weight, and in the years to come much more could and should be done by these people. And there again the influence of the Royal Family will be greatly needed.

There is misery and unemployment in many parts of the Empire, but there is a new development going on there about which the rest of the world seems even more interested to know than does Great Britain. Here indeed,

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is an opportunity for the best type of propaganda and that propaganda should not content itself with spreading in Europe and in Asia the interesting developments in this Commonwealth of Nations but should see to it that this is also spread and understood in Great Britain as well.

CHAPTER XIX

PROPAGANDA (THE PAST)

FOR some years, propaganda has seemed to many people in this country, one of the ugliest words in the English language. This is almost entirely due to the use made of it in the Great War and also in the years that have followed. It may be looked on in years to come, as one of the principle achievements of this Government that evil propaganda in foreign countries was eventually checked and that real propaganda of the right type was instituted into this country and developed into a new branch of the Government Service.

The Government and the Foreign Office have spent some years in a very close study of the possibilities of getting Britain better known abroad. The slump of 1931 and the crisis at that time, were amongst the major reasons which convinced numbers of Members of Parliament and others that it was vital to do something to counteract the rumours about Great Britain. There are still many representatives of our country abroad, who have been but little in Great Britain during the last eight years, who feel that this development of propaganda is a mistake. They consider, when looking at the foreign peoples around them, that the British have remarkably little to boast about, at the present moment. I do not refer to their feelings about Britain's past but to

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their nervousness about the type of person Britain is to-day producing. When I pressed them a little further on this point, I found that their information comes usually from a certain type of elderly person in this country, or else from a perusal of our own daily press. They are right, when they say that it is a mistake for the British to boast and to think that there is nothing wrong at home. But they are wrong if they think that we are not fully aware of this fact. We feel, however, that our internal weaknesses, such as they are, are for home consumption and not for foreign comment. And it is high time that foreigners knew a good deal more about our institutions and our development.

You have only got to pick up a book called 'England's Crisis', by André Siegfried, written in 1931, and considered, at that time, a penetrating analysis of British mentality and of the situation in Great Britain. It was more than depressing and to-day, after seven years, it is interesting reading, since it has, in numbers of ways, been proved wrong. Why then should we not tell the world, how wrong have been our best and most friendly critics?

In the first two years after the crisis, the position was studied, and the tendency at that time was to concentrate rigidly on a programme of cultural propaganda. There was to be no form of flag-wagging, no form of praise for our political institutions and no real advertisement for our business developments. It was to be culture and culture all the time; and under no circumstances must it be official. Furthermore, there was the usual difficulty in developing something new in Great Britain. Although some of the most important people connected with our

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foreign affairs realised the importance of such a development, yet it was quite impossible in those days of economies to get a penny from the Treasury, and it seemed almost an impossibility to raise funds anywhere. I remember attending, in 1933, a small luncheon for about twenty people, in one of the private rooms at the Savoy Hotel, where Sir Robert Vansittart was asked to outline some tentative ideas to some of the richest business men in the country. Nothing happened for some months. Money was eventually privately raised and it was decided that a newly formed body which had originated in the mind of Sir Evelyn Wrench and was called the All Peoples' Association, should be approached to see if the British section of that organisation would be willing to undertake some form of cultural work for the British throughout the world.

The answer of the Association was quite properly that it could only do this if other countries were willing to do the same, and for every facility given to British lecturers abroad, similar facilities must also be given to other countries, wishing to develop their cultural propaganda in this country and elsewhere. Numbers of children's books and other works of literature were sent out to different small European nations, but it soon became apparent that there would be considerable difficulty in developing such international organisations as the All Peoples' Association, in Germany or in Italy. This did not mean, for a moment, that the Germans and Italians were unwilling to listen to suitable British lectures or to read suitable British books. But it meant that these countries preferred that this should be done directly by such British organisations as the British Library in

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Florence or the Sthamer Club for Anglo-German friendship in Hamburg, so called after the popular German Ambassador in London.

Although the new premises for the All Peoples' Association were opened with much publicity in Arlington Street, by our then Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, in the winter of 1933-1934, it was not a propitious moment in world affairs for the development of such an international organisation. However ideal, it still remains a future possible form of fair international cultural propaganda.

When I returned to London, from the Far East, in 1936, things had advanced very rapidly. The A.P.A. had disappeared and in its stead, in Chesham Place, was housed a new organisation which started its career as the British Council for Cultural Relations; some of its officials had been previously in Arlington Street; Lord Tyrrell was now at its head, the Treasury had granted the vast sum of £6,000 a year as compared with the hundreds of thousands paid by the French Government, the German Government and the Italians and the Russians. Some months later, the British Council For Cultural Relations dropped the 'Cultural Relations' and became the British Council; Lord Tyrrell moved from the position of Chairman, to that of President, and Lord Eustace Percy, who had been in the Cabinet as a kind of Minister for new ideas, took over the Chairmanship. Every day it became more apparent what the British Council could do. For a moment it looked as if culture was to be left out of the picture and the only conversation was as to how British business could sell more goods in different countries. That too, was soon suppressed as a major idea, and the

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British Council at last found itself in possession of a grant from the Treasury, not of £6,000 but of £60,000.

By 1937, foreign propaganda against this country, especially in the Near East and in South America, had reached critical proportions. It looked as if it would be necessary to bring in the British Broadcasting Company, and in addition there were the services that could be rendered by such an organisation as the Travel Association. Once again the grant to the British Council went up, this time to £100,000. Lord Eustace Percy had been for some time desirous of giving up his political career in London and going back to Northumberland, there to take over the local University. He resigned from the Chairmanship and was succeeded by Lord Lloyd, a man with a wide knowledge of everything connected with the Near East.

As is now common knowledge, the Government soon decided that news broadcasts in Arabic and in Portuguese and in Spanish, had become essential. And the first of these series of talks was given from Broadcasting House at the beginning of January, 1938. The British Council went on with its series of lecturers sent to foreign countries, but it found in more than one place that there were numbers of lecture agencies also at work. The more this propaganda developed, the more it became obvious that there would be unnecessary overlapping unless a co-ordinating committee was instituted. That too, was typically British, for there is always the story of the three Britishers marooned on an island, where the first two immediately formed themselves each into a separate committee and then the third man decided to become a committee to co-ordinate the other two. The Prime

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Minister announced at the beginning of February that Sir Robert Vansittart was to be Chairman of a co-ordinating committee for the British Council, the B.B.C. and the Travel Association. A press officer was also appointed to deal with foreign newspapers. So rapidly have things advanced since those preliminary feelers of 1933.

What exactly can Great Britain do as regards useful and fair propaganda? One thing can be ruled out at once, there will be nothing on the lines of the propaganda during the Great War, but it is as well to remember that foreign countries and especially Germany, will never forget how wonderfully effective our propaganda was during the last two years of the Great War. Anyone who has read *The Secrets of Crewe House* will remember how thrilling became that game; how we got hold of German newspapers and how we copied them, putting in our own versions of the events of those times and how we dropped them over the German cities and spread a network of panic and doubt behind the German lines. Our own Ambassadors to-day remember often with a slight blush of shame, how, when young secretaries in neutral countries, they had to spread material and information, which seemed to them so appallingly exaggerated that they hardly dared send it out.

And yet a Japanese general, only two years ago, told me how much he and his friends had admired that wonderful British effort. "All lies," he said, "we knew they were all lies, but it showed the British were ready to do anything for their country, and that is something we admire beyond words. Why do the British not do it again to-day? Are they ashamed of their country or are

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they degenerated?" There is no need to-day for such extreme propaganda, but it is as well to remember that foreign countries remember our latent capabilities and they have a wholesome dread of finding us as competitors in such propaganda at which they are still playing as mere amateurs.

There are better kinds of propaganda than untruths. Propaganda has been looked on throughout the world for generations as a recognised form of explaining facts about one country or one idea, to people in other countries, who themselves have different ideas and would be unlikely to understand us without some explanation.

You have had in the Catholic Church, the Congregation of Propaganda, which was contemplated by Pope Gregory XIII and was practically established in 1622 by Gregory XV, to guard, direct and promote the foreign missions. Urban VIII who reigned from 1623 to 1644, constituted the College of Propaganda as part of the same design where young men of every nation and language might be trained for the priesthood and prepared for the evangelic warfare against heathenism or heresy. The management of this college the Pope entrusted to the Congregation. I quote now from a book as far back as 1893; it says, "The annual examination of the pupils which takes place in January, on the day before the Epiphany, is an interesting scene, which few travellers, who are then in Rome, omit to attend; the pupils recite poetry and speeches in their several languages, accompanied also by music as performed in their respective countries.

"From the earliest times, the Chair of Peter has been resorted to by Christians, who being in doubt on some

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matter of religion, desired an authoritative solution of that doubt. In later times the number of converted nations and tribes, having on the whole, in spite of the losses of the Sixteenth Century, been much increased and the means of communication extended, the amount of business of all kinds which the divinely appointed centrality of the Holy See brings upon it, has become far too great to be dealt with except by means of an organisation, planned and framed with consummate prudence and skill, which permits the Pope to use the eyes, ears and judgments of a great number of trained and competent assistants, while retaining that initiative and that complete cognisance in every question of which he cannot divest himself. This organisation consists in the main, of the Congregations into which the Cardinals are distributed." And the Congregation of Propaganda is one of these, with usually one hundred and fifty students, picked from all over the world. If the Vatican, with its well-known experience in diplomacy, has considered such an organisation necessary ever since the breaking away of a large part of Christianity in the Sixteenth Century, to counteract the criticisms of the Reformers, it can be no unwise thing for the British in this Century to follow suit in opposing the criticisms of her enemies.

Foreign propaganda against the British became particularly virulent in Communist circles after the Great War. Russia has not ceased her endless propaganda and she has spent possibly the most money on it in this country, with the very minimum of success. The reason for that is that the teachings of Communism have but little appeal in a country where there is already prosperity

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for the workers. But the Communist attacks on Great Britain in less prosperous parts of the Empire and in countries jealous of the British might, has been far more successful due to its unscrupulousness and the lack of any form of answer. Over a thousand miles in the interior of China, I found the Chinese Communists, taught by Russian visitors, were on the whole reasonably tolerant to any Australian missionaries they captured. It is true, they disapproved of their Christianity, but they felt a great sympathy for the Australians, in view of the fact that they understood Australia was trodden under the heel of Imperialistic Britain and that every Australian was a slave. The Japanese attitude in Formosa, to Australians, was even less flattering. They explained to me that it was a gross insult that we English would not allow the Japanese to settle in Australia, adding: "The Australians are nothing but degenerate English, you send them out from England for the last hundred years, when you do not want them, and still you consider that Japanese immigrants would not be as worth while as these degenerates." A little better understanding of the actual situation by Japanese and Chinese might be useful when Australia, as she must in the near future, develops more intimate trade contacts with the Far East.

Russia, as we know, has not been the only sinner; Japan herself has deliberately propagandized throughout our Eastern Dominions and through those of the Dutch, explaining, though luckily nobody believes her, that Japan is the saviour of the East and that the days of the Whites are numbered. Germany and France have both themselves used the most intensive methods of propaganda in Japan. They also have worked mainly on cul-

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tural lines and they have built themselves cultural centres in the ancient sacred city of Kyoto, the Oxford of Japan. Here the Germans built a two storied house the same size as the French one across the road; the French knowing that in the Orient the most important person lives on the highest peak, immediately added a third storey, the Japanese, however, merely smiled, and renamed the street between the two cultural centres, the Rhine Street.

Germany's propaganda is world-wide. It is a well-known fact that Dr. Schacht was always inveighing against Dr. Goebbels for the, what he considered, unwarrantably large percentage of foreign currency Dr. Goebbels was using on propaganda. In Denmark and Sweden the universities can to-day obtain almost a plethora of German professors to lecture on all sorts of subjects; but as they point out, the standard of German culture has now declined so rapidly in the last three years that they consider it a waste of time to listen to these men. Young Swedish children are taken into families in Germany for nothing and treated like small princes. Any Swede can go from South Sweden to Berlin, first class, for the weekend, for less money than costs a third class return fare to Stockholm. The German Minister of Propaganda finances the loss to the railways. Whole shiploads of German working men are sent cruising round the coasts of Italy and of other lands with Totalitarian sympathies. At every turn in Yugoslavia you see hoards of German tourists. They are penniless and everything is paid for from Germany. With only ten marks in their pockets they cannot even afford a beer in the local café. It seems to me questionable whether their visits

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make very good propaganda for Germany, but no doubt their masters know best.

It might interest them to know the comments of their hosts. Croats and Serbs both murmur as they pass: "How unhappy these people look, and how they distrust each other; take two of them out for a drink and they will all say the same thing about the wonders of the present regime. Take one out alone and he will unburden himself as though he were breathing fresh air for the first time for months."

When General Goering and his wife went into the Oriental shop of a well-known young Moslem in Dubrovnik last year, he bought up nearly half the place. As he was leaving the Moslem said: "General, if only all your subjects could spend as you do! Why do you not allow them more than ten marks?" The Moslem commented to me afterwards that he did not seem to like the jest.

More useful no doubt, to the Germans, are the numbers of Yugoslav students whom they bring to Germany and educate at the German universities almost free. These young men, not unnaturally, when they go back to their homes, are ardent pro-Nazis and are never allowed to lose touch with Germany. Wherever I went to speak in Yugoslavia, for the British Council, in 1937, there was always present at least one member of the German Club, to find out what I was saying and to study our methods. It is significant that the greatest propaganda in Yugoslavia by the Germans is around the district of Maribor, south of Austria. The people still speak German there as well as their native language, for they were subjects of the Austrian Empire until 1918. Germany taking over

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Austria, the area around Maribor is now in a direct line for any further advance to Trieste and the Adriatic; this would merely bring back to the old Austro-German Empire what once was hers. Was it not Frederick William III of Prussia who remarked, when asked if he wanted to form a German Empire without Austria and Trieste and the outlet to the Adriatic: "What!" with horror, "do you suggest that we should cut off our nose to spite our face?"

We must not think that Totalitarian States are the only ones who do propaganda. The French, for years, have spent millions of francs on such developments. Most of the French propaganda is definitely cultural, and that is no doubt why so many people in our Foreign Office have desired that our propaganda should be on similar lines. I remember the comment of a German propagandist to me on this subject in Kyoto, he said: "The Japanese want to learn of naval matters and of business from Great Britain and they want to learn about the Army and chemistry and medicine from Germany, but they are far too busy and far too practical to be interested in the cultural propaganda of France. They say: 'What practical use is their culture to us? We have our own and they seem to have nothing else to offer.'" The French propaganda in Great Britain is very friendly and very delightful, but it has novel possibilities not yet fully appreciated, in French Canada.

Before the Great War, you practically never saw a Frenchman in French Canada and the French Canadians scarcely ever visited France. During the Great War the French Canadian clergy did all in their power to prevent the people of Quebec from being conscripted to fight in

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France. The traditions of Québec are the traditions of Old France, of the France before the French Revolution; and they have still many beautiful pictures, and old furniture, sent to Quebec by the French aristocracy for safety at the time of the Revolution. It was no part of the policy of the rulers of Quebec that their people should see Republican France with its night life in Paris, and the paganism that has succeeded the old Catholicity of that great nation.

After the War the French occasionally visited Montreal and Quebec; André Siegfried went out from Paris and wrote a book about it. But within the last two years there has been the most amazing increase in the interest of France in French Canada. Professors and clergy from the universities of Montréal are invited over to France and fêted at the Sorbonne and elsewhere. France knows, what England will soon learn, that at the present rate of development, in less than fifty years Canada will be over two thirds French and the 75,000 French Canadians of one hundred and fifty years ago, who to-day have increased to nearly four million, will form the new French influence in America, and the British element will find that British ideals will have to take a distant back seat unless we too do something to interest the French Canadians in Great Britain.

CHAPTER XX

PROPAGANDA (THE FUTURE)

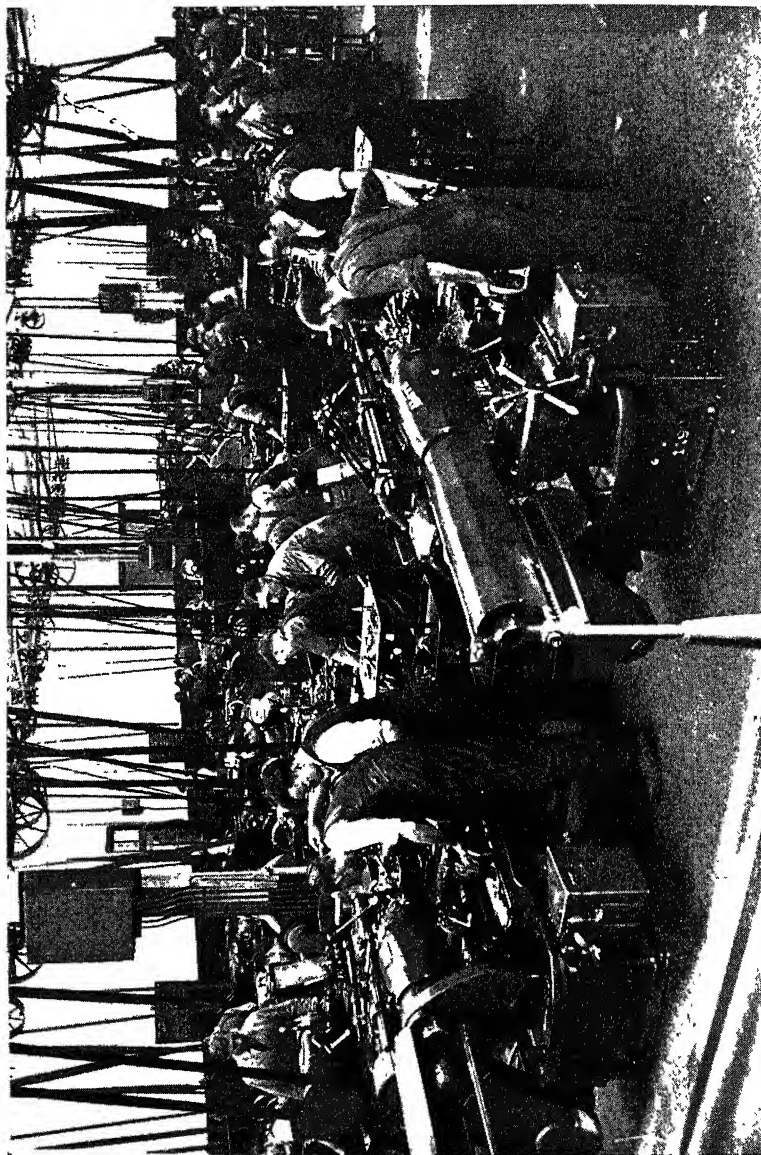
I HAVE left the question of Italian propaganda to the last. In recent months, that propaganda reached a pitch which looked as if it eventually might lead to war. But in one way or another, the Italians had been using internal propaganda in Italy against Great Britain and other Democratic countries, ever since 1922, when Mussolini first came into power, over fifteen and a half years ago. It might be said, technically, that it was not propaganda and that Italy and Great Britain were quite good friends. But when a Fascist Government comes into power with a certain amount of attendant restrictions, it is obvious that the new system of Government must justify itself. The line taken by Fascism was that Democracy had gone rotten in Italy; a similar line was taken by the Nazis in Germany in 1933. It is only a short step from saying that your own personal form of Democracy is rotten, to say that all forms of Democracy are out of date. It is no use telling the Italian peasant or the Italian working-man that Democracy is quite a good thing in itself, but that the Italians have not got the flair for running it. The only thing to do is to show that Democracy is wrong everywhere, and the greatest Democratic nation, as well as the oldest, is Great Britain;

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moreover, as far as one could see on the surface, Great Britain was reasonably prosperous. It therefore became Mussolini's duty to explain to the Italian people that the great days of Britain were over, that the British were in a decline, and that Democracy was showing itself futile for the Twentieth Century.

Anybody going about amongst the Italian working-classes, must have seen the steady influence of this propaganda. It received a considerable fillip at the time of the crisis in 1931. I spent some time travelling round the New World, as the only passenger on an Italian freight boat. Every single one of the crew had been educated in the last few years to believe that England was no good; that her young men would never fight again and that we were on the point of losing India. In speeches I had to make some two years later, in Genoa and Naples, I referred at some length to the position of the unemployed in Great Britain. The Italian papers all commented more or less on the following lines; they said, that contrary to what was generally believed, Mr. Teeling had told his audience that the unemployed in Great Britain actually wanted work; and that the Prince of Wales was interested in their condition.

Later I led over four hundred Catholic unemployed to Rome for a Pilgrimage to the Pope. In almost every one of the Parishes from which these men came, the local Convents and the priests had provided enough funds to give the men a new suit, in which they could look presentable when they visited the Holy Father. They were photographed on the steps of the War Memorial in Rome; they looked, as a result of their clothes, comparatively well-off, and the Italian press came out with



(By kind permission of the Ministry of Labour)

LEICESTER GOVERNMENT TRAINING CENTRE

Section of Main Shop, equipped with up-to-date machinery

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photographs of these men, under the caption '*The Dolce fa niente Inglese*'.

It must be realised in any future British propaganda that conditions of living, in a Democratic country, must always be freer and easier for the majority of people, given that the conditions in that country are satisfactory, than it will be for the majority of people in a Totalitarian State. And therefore, unless something is done to counteract this, the majority in a Totalitarian State will look forward to the day when they can have a Democracy. The only way to counteract this natural desire is for the Totalitarian propagandists to point out the weaknesses in Democratic States. It will always be an easy subject for them to deal with as long as we have any part of the press in this country which can be called irresponsible. Moreover, on political platforms, up and down Great Britain, it is a very natural and healthy sign of the satisfactory working of our Parliamentary system, that Government supporters and Opposition supporters should attack each other systematically, and point out how many things are wrong in the country, and how all of them are due to the other side. The vast majority of people in the country make their own minds up and are certainly hardly ever convinced that either side is not exaggerating. Only at the time of a General Election does the country come to a decision and give a verdict as to which side, on the whole, is best.

In Totalitarian States where there can be no two Parties and no press criticism of the regime, people are still quite capable of seeing for themselves, thinking for themselves and remembering the past. They know when things are going wrong, but the Government is incapable

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of laying the blame on any other Party in the country; the authorities must therefore lay the blame on outside countries; and if they keep on telling their people that Great Britain is degenerating and that everything in Russia is awful (just as Russia keeps on pointing out that Germany is on the point of collapse), then after some time the people begin to ask, "if Great Britain is really so feeble and yet is responsible for all our ills, why don't we finish her off in a war?" England continues to lay herself open to these criticisms by irresponsible speeches of attack, which mostly come these days from the Left Wing Opposition, and which at times, give a very doubtful interpretation to facts and figures. The only way that I can see for our propaganda to counteract this, is first of all to put the press on its honour in times of crisis, such as happened in 1931; and no matter what Government is in power, to try if possible, and keep criticism within the bounds of fact. Also if possible, to get the press to refrain from too much sensationalism.

There is little doubt that the majority of people, amongst the ten million purchasers of newspapers in this country, are becoming far more neurotic as the result of concentrated sensationalism than they were in the years gone by. As one old lady said the other day, when asked why she did not read a certain picture paper: "I never take it in, it makes me jump so." In addition, our lecturers can do some good by explaining the situation in lectures abroad, though probably lectures on such a subject will not be over-popular in Totalitarian States. I have, however, heard speeches made in Hamburg which showed that the Government was willing to allow quite a reasonable amount of licence to the British visitor.

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The first necessity for our propaganda abroad must be to get in touch with foreign newspapers and to be able to send to these newspapers and to syndicates articles of the length they require, on subjects connected with topical events in Great Britain. These articles must be written by British journalists who know something of the country where they are going to be published, and who know what angle of the subject in question is most likely to interest that country. An organised staff for such a purpose should be kept in London, and should only consist of trained journalists, expensive though this would be. In this way, the largest proportion of the people will be reached. Next in importance, to my mind, is the linking up in each country of connections between the Consular Service and any English teachers in the different towns abroad. Care must be taken, where possible, that these teachers are not mixed up with any one political group in their district. The teachers should be helped where possible, to start up an English Club and to that Club should be sent regularly, British newspapers, weeklies and magazines; as well as an occasional case of books and some children's literature. In the bigger towns and the capitals of different countries there should, where possible, be two separate Clubs. One should be entirely social and, in a sense, snobbish.

In many of the capitals of Europe, including London, there are certain groups of influential society which are interested in particular countries abroad. They like to meet at frequent intervals to show off their dresses and to discuss a little, but not too much, the literature or the music, or the Social development, with a capital 'S', in their favourite country. For these people talks should be

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arranged by well-known authors, politicians or even famous beauties; and the lecturers should be encouraged to stay a few days in the town and to give as much time to Social visits as to actual lectures.

Then there should be an entirely different Club in such capitals, meant for the intelligentsia. To these Clubs should come professors and lecturers of considerable mental standing, who would be prepared to give further lectures in universities within reach. In the small towns of every country an occasional lecturer should go round. He should stay as long as possible in each place, and the subject matter of his lecture should not be too serious. Most of his listeners will have come to hear him in order to see how much English they understand; and in these days, when it is popularly supposed that we are degenerating, it would be far from a bad idea that the lecturer should be somebody accustomed to broadcasting and therefore used to speaking slowly, and he should also be the type of Englishman whom the foreigners used to read about, tall and healthy-looking and quite capable of sitting up with the local Committee, to drink and to dance into the early hours of the morning. So much for lecturers. What should be their subjects? That again is impossible to tell and depends largely on the country. If we could afford to send people to the Far East, we should tell the Japanese of material matters, of our monarchical tradition, without laying stress on its Democratic side; of the religious traditions of our people and of the development of the theatre in this country. Should we want to send people to the United States, and there is no country which needs more a correct interpretation of conditions over here, then we should not send sloppy

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'hands across the water' types, but rather great religious leaders, great thinkers and famous sportsmen.

For Scandinavia, we need prominent business men and prominent professors; and so on for each different type of country. But the most important influence, to my mind, will come from the exchange of students. The more foreign students we can get into this country to study, not only at Oxford or Cambridge, but in the other great universities of the country, the more good we shall eventually do. If the average man in the street wants to take an active part in preserving international peace, he should go out of his way to take into his home these young foreigners who have probably scraped together everything they can to make possible the one journey of their lives, outside their country. The impressions they get of the friendliness or the coldness of the Britons they meet will be their permanent impressions for life.

In another chapter I have referred to foreign broadcasting and its propaganda uses; I will only refer to it here as regards our own dissemination of news in foreign languages throughout the world. To begin with it must be remembered that large numbers of people outside this country listen in to our National and Regional broadcasts, in order to study English. And in one country recently an English teacher was asked to give a series of lessons on the wireless in English, from the capital of that particular country. Instead of choosing some particular book to read, which everyone could not have afforded to buy, he announced that he would take as the subject for his lesson each week the leading article of the *London Times* of a few days before. I understand he had not warned *The Times's* agents before, and as a result, there

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was an unprecedented rush for the paper on its arrival from England, and it was of course completely sold out long before listeners had been able to purchase their copies. I wonder if it has occurred to the B.B.C. that it would sometimes be a good idea to give such English lessons from London, employing instead of *The Times*, their own newspaper *The Radio Times*, with programmes in it of future talks. I write under correction, but I think I am correct in saying that up to the present neither the B.B.C. nor any other organisation has got any means of knowing, within a day, what forms of propaganda either on the air, or in the press, have been issued in foreign countries, on the preceding day. It might be an expensive idea, though it would be a very efficient one, if some English newspaper correspondent in each capital of the world, were paid a retaining fee to listen-in to the country in which he was living, to all broadcasts that might have some reference to British actions or British policy, or which were meant to compare unfavourably to Great Britain in any description of some new experiment another country was carrying out. The listener could then telephone through each evening to London a resumé of the points in each talk. Every morning a committee would sit at Broadcasting House to go through these reports, and it would be decided how far it was politic to answer them on the air or to give other talks, showing that the British were doing something very similar or just as good as whatever these foreigners were boasting about.

These are only a few of the many ways in which we can counteract what foreigners have been saying against us in the last few years. From what I know of the way

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this country is governed and the way we are represented abroad, the last thing any of us wants is to go in for a propaganda war and to boast, publicly abroad, about our achievements. Other countries I know think otherwise, and have stated that we have all along been the best blowers of our own trumpet in the world. Some people obviously always have done so and always will do so, and there are lecture agencies which send people all over the world, though these people are in no sense nominees of our Government. They are out, most of them, to make money for themselves. The developments of the last few years have been definitely forced on us and it seems to me yet another proof of the strength that is in our position that the present Government is developing propaganda along the lines which I have tried to outline. We ourselves badly need propaganda within the Empire, and propaganda to a far greater extent than we have got it to-day in our own country. And I am a firm believer that something will soon be done on those lines. In the meantime it is not uninteresting to run through a little of the type of thing that the average foreigner is puzzled about and yet very interested in, in England.

CHAPTER XXI

AN ENGLISH BACKGROUND

FOREIGNERS complain to me time and again, that in almost every English novel they read, whenever the hero has to make up his mind or seek a solution to his problem, he invariably goes to the Club. When they become more highbrow and start reading the novelists of the last Century, they find themselves in Dickens and elsewhere, up against the Pickwick Club or some other Club, and they want to know what it is all about. Sirewldly they say: "This Club life must have a great influence on the English character," and they are right, though we ourselves do not realise it. They point out, abroad, that in no European country is there anything comparable to Club life, and they would like to know what it is all about. They add, that they have heard rumours that English Clubs originated in Coffee Houses, and since they almost all have Coffee Houses to which they go to drink one cup of coffee and to have a free read of almost all the international press, they are most anxious to know what is the connecting link. The connecting link is such a clear example of our development along the lines of tradition that I want to trace it briefly here.

In the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, there were no fewer than two thousand Coffee Houses in London alone, and different groups, connected with different

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trades, or different vocations, each had their own Coffee House as a meeting place. As a result, the Bank of England developed out of the Wednesday Club and Lloyds, as we know, originated in Lloyds Coffee House.

Possibly the most famous of the Coffee Houses of the time was White's. It originally was Arthur's; both of them to-day are famous Clubs. Whites, in the days of Madame White, became fashionable because you could get your tickets there for the Opera and because a Swiss who organised famous private parties, insisted on issuing invitation cards from that Coffee House. As the years went on, the owners of these Coffee Houses set rooms aside for their special regular members. Later they approached these members and said: "If you will guarantee to remain members, and in order to do so will pay an annual subscription of a pound or so, we will close our Coffee House to the ordinary public and cater for you alone." The members of White's and Boodle's and Arthur's and a few others, bit by bit agreed, and Clubs were born. Again, after a short time, these Coffee House owners began to die off, and the Club members decided to purchase the premises and appoint their own managers. Generations later, some of these Clubs increased their premises until they became the palatial homes for modern sportsmen that we find in the Automobile Club, the Bath Club and the Conservative Club.

Their political influence, especially the small Clubs, was immense, particularly towards the end of the Eighteenth Century and throughout the Nineteenth Century. If any of my readers want to see the origin of these modern Clubs, they have only to go to the Cheshire Cheese in Fleet Street, which is practically as it was in

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the days when these other Clubs were almost similar institutions.

In White's, we find the Prince Regent breaking with Pitt at the end of the Eighteenth Century, and starting his connection with the great Whig centre, Brooks's Club, supported by Charles James Fox. In the Nineteenth Century, we find the then Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII, leaving White's because he was not allowed to smoke there after dinner, and founding instead the Marlborough Club, which became the centre for his friends towards the end of the last century.

When Lord Grey, over a hundred years ago, was determined to bring about Reform in this country, he started the Reform Club, to be the great influential centre of Whig Liberalism. As the years went by many famous Liberals worked out their plans for the future in this Club; Macaulay, Thackeray, Palmerston, John Bright, are but a few of the names. Thackeray, sitting there, noticed on the menu one evening that for dinner there would be beans and bacon; it was a dish he had not eaten for ages, and he sent a message to the hostess with whom he was to dine, that he could not go away as "he had met an old friend he had not seen for many a long day." In the Athenæum near by, Macaulay, Thackeray and Disraeli's father were to be seen working in the library. To this day foreigners who are allowed to be the guests of the Club feel duly honoured.

At the Carlton meet all the Conservative leaders and their conversations and their gossip have often been capable of making or marring political careers. It was here that Lord Chaplin was refused admittance to the Party meeting where Bonar Law was elected to the

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Leadership and Lloyd George was overthrown. He was refused because for the first time it was decided that this was a House of Commons affair and nothing to do with the Lords. That too was the death knell for Peers as Prime Ministers, which meant that a year later, Lord Curzon was passed over in favour of Mr. Stanley Baldwin. There are other political Clubs, some of which to-day finance Party Candidates at election times; and in their club rooms upstairs are held private meetings in which the political situation is discussed with frankness in the absence of the Press.

Then in the last Century, arose also the Navy and Military Clubs, and after the Great War, the Air Force Club; and to-day the Cavalry Club must wonder what will happen to it in the future, since the Cavalry have become mechanised. Lastly there are the theatrical Clubs and the literary Clubs, such as the Garrick, which has been going on for over a hundred years. There is the Orleans Club where you are supposed to get the best food in London. It may be true that all these Clubs originated in the desire for men to get away from their wives, and they have become more popular in these days of flats, when women are only too glad to get their husbands out of the compressed area of a four or five-roomed apartment. But the women too, have Clubs and the influence of the political women's Clubs are a growth not always recognised but very much to be reckoned with in the last few years. Only within the last few months have the Book Clubs developed on Club lines and are becoming, in parts of the country, excuses for reading circles with definite biases in favour of one side or the other of religious or political life.

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It must not be considered that the influence of Club life is only to be found in London, we have it throughout the country and in all the big towns in Great Britain. In one northern town, where I recently had to speak, I found there were three Conservative Clubs for three different classes in the city. There was the Gentleman's Club, meant more or less for the gentry of the neighbourhood; there was the Golfers' Club, meant for the business men, and there was the Constitutional Club, meant for the better type of working men.

In an earlier chapter I have gone into the development of working men's Clubs and Clubs for the unemployed but an influence of great importance in the life of this country which cannot be overlooked, is the development of the Conservative working men's Constitutional Clubs. There are over a thousand of these up and down the country and nothing like them is to be found in any other part of Europe; the first reason being that the Socialists have got control of the working men through terrorisation and other methods in most Democratic countries. Only in Great Britain has that been impossible and the Constitutional Clubs run very much on the same lines and traditions as the Coffee Houses of two hundred years ago, are to my mind one of the greatest bulwarks for traditional development of level-headed Government in this country.

The way in which modern changes and modern movements have still been able, in this country, to fit in with such Institutions as its Club Life are well worth considering in any foreigner's attempt to understand our people. I would recommend to the foreigner, that in studying our Clubs, he should go one step further and

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study our great City Corporations, such as the Goldsmiths' Company, the Fishmongers' Company and the like. I am firmly of the belief that these companies, which to-day, seem to have their use mostly for charitable work, will one day be called upon to help in the development of this Empire. Either they will have their use in forming Chartered Companies for the further development of some of the Dominions or still more likely, if it should ever become necessary, to develop anything on the lines of the Corporate State in this country, these companies will be used as the corporate centres for the great trades and industries. They will so carry on our past traditions without any outward alteration, whilst at the same time embracing what may have been considered to be worth while in the political developments of other countries. This is no place to go into or develop such a theory, but it is an added example of my idea that we have so many traditions in this country that it would be very difficult to find anything new in the world that cannot be adapted without much visible change, as long as we do not hustle or lose our heads.

The *coups d'état* of different nations will always be impossible for this country as long as we keep our Club Life intact. Germany has recognised this fact by closing down all the old university Clubs, all the smarter Clubs of Berlin, and even such luncheon Clubs as the Rotarians, who were in themselves an American development of the English Club spirit. It was impossible in a State like Germany for Clubs to go on, because in Clubs people talked and intrigued and came together to gossip and could neither be controlled nor overheard by the spies of the regime.

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The incidents of the last few days, in the time at which I write, the resignation of Mr. Eden, the future policy of Mr. Chamberlain, all these are subjects which no doubt all of my readers will remember discussing in their Clubs; and the criticism of one side or the other and the rumours about the causes, will all be readily understood to have been something quite impossible in a Totalitarian State. People came up from the country to their Clubs which were filled and within a couple of days it was easy to sense the feeling of most of England. Mr. Chamberlain's attitude was at first almost criticised and then it was as quickly endorsed. As long as these Clubs go on, Democracy will remain in Great Britain. In some of the political Clubs such as the Carlton, ministers are made or broken through the talk of different groups and the Eden crisis is the most recent example.

Yet oddly enough, the greatest leaders in our political life in the last hundred years, have not been what we term Club men. Possibly Club men distrust each other for such high posts, for the fact remains that our best Ministers have been far more keen on country life.

Foreigners have often asked me why it is that so many Britons seem to feel an extra confidence in a Statesman who has country hobbies. I can only think that people feel something like Hudson, the great bird lover and friend of Lord Grey of Falloden, when he wrote to him during the crisis in 1910. At that time, Grey was Sir Edward Grey and Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Hudson wrote: "It is a stormy period you are in; but I think that if there is anyone living who possesses that which your favourite poet finds in everything in the outside cosmos, a 'central peace subsisting at the heart of endless agita-

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tion', it is yourself.'". Grey put it perhaps better when talking to Trevelyan; referring to the Lord Grey of the Reform Bill and Lord Althorp, he said: "Both these men were almost impossible to keep in London; Grey was always wanting to get away to Northumberland and Althorp to Northampton; they were popular and successful because people felt they hated being in London." That, I suppose, is a typically British characteristic; trusting the man who seems to hate what he is doing, and yet to be doing it because he feels it is his duty.

A hundred years ago, it was the same as to-day and Maurois in his 'Disraeli' rightly remarks: "A landed proprietor walking over his estates and talking with his farmers, learns the real state of feelings and needs, hears the complaints of the agriculturist, can reckon for himself the effects of the laws on which he has voted. A London-dweller, spending his life in drawing-rooms and at the House, can be no more than a theorist. The mind has real need of contact, at close intervals, with the soil. After a spell of urban life the tumult of the brain is soothed by the calm and beauty of nature in the fields. Disraeli was passionately fond of trees and flowers; for long his dream had been to acquire a great house in that county of Bucks to which he had attached himself."

For the foreigner, Palmerston is in the last Century perhaps the most interesting Premier and Foreign Secretary; he is probably the greatest Foreign Secretary, or at any rate the one who appeals most to the imagination in the last hundred years. Pam, as he was always called, used to get away from London for the shooting seasons, and went down to his beautiful home, Broadlands, in Hampshire, which to this day belongs to his

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family. He would work there, in his large study looking across over the lawns to the river, where there is some of the best fishing in England. As he wrote (probably some of those famous Despatches which kept Europe alive and alarmed), this great little man stood at his high writing desk, for he always wrote standing if he could; the desk is still there, with a picture of himself writing at it, on the wall near by. Beside the desk he kept an imposing array of woodcutting implements, together with a collection of scarecrow hats, laid out on a special table. He loved his trees and especially his yews. He was a bad shot and the only person, possibly in England, of whom he stood in awe besides his wife, was his head keeper; and the keeper had a strong contempt for the inability of Lord Palmerston to bring down a high pheasant.

But Pam could be autocratic, and he was annoyed that his fan-tailed pigeons did not seem to peek and preen themselves as fan-tailed pigeons should; he therefore gave orders that their lofty abode should be panelled with looking-glass. "For," said he, "then they must see what fine birds they are."

Above all, Palmerston loved his horses and he very nearly won the Derby. There were moments when, no matter what the situation in London, Palmerston felt he must snatch a day to see how his horses were shaping in their training quarters. Those were not the days of motors and this hardy little gentleman would leave London at midnight, tucked away in the corner of the Mail Coach for Winchester; there his own carriage would meet him, bringing him to Broadlands by eight o'clock in the morning. After breakfast he would ride twenty-five miles to Stockbridge, where his horses were in

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training. After he had seen them, he would return that night to London by coach. I wonder if it is permissible to surmise that perhaps many of his most strongly worded Despatches to Continental Powers would be sent off the day after his two uncomfortable nights on the coach? I have never had time to work this theory out, but there might be something in it. Though Palmerston worked in Downing Street, he did not actually live there. He had a house in Piccadilly where he dined every day at 4 p.m., usually on roast mutton, finishing the meal with an orange. He would then ride on horse-back to the House of Commons.

It is a long jump from Lord Palmerston to Sir Edward Grey and here we find perhaps the greatest lover of country life in Downing Street. The story of his almost uncanny knowledge of birds and ability to live alone with them, has become world famous. He has told, in his own books and speeches, what bird life meant to him. It was perhaps the culminating tragedy of his life that when at last Grey was relieved of the cares of State and went to his beloved Falloden in Northumberland, he was already almost stone blind; he could hear his birds, but he could not see them. He had lost his sight through over-strain and overwork during those agonising years when first his fight for peace proved useless; and then those terrible war days when our Foreign Affairs were so vital and so critical.

Not long after Grey's tenure of the Foreign Office, we find that colourful personality, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, working there late into the night with his back encased in irons and suffering as he had suffered all through the latter part of his life, from spinal trouble.

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Curzon's affection for the country was again quite a different kind from that of his predecessors. He almost worshipped his home and he had Government House in Calcutta, when he was Governor-General of India, modelled on his own Kedleston Hall. He loved the past and he loved to stroll out on a moonlit night at Kedleston and feel himself back in the days of his ancestors. Whenever he had spare money he would spend it on buying and restoring some famous old castle; as for instance Bodiam in Sussex. He himself always felt that the most lasting memorial to his Vice-Royalty in India would be the manner in which he was able to deal with the restoration of famous Indian Palaces and beautiful buildings. Agra is only one of the many memorials to his greatness. Before he attempted to restore anything, he would study the history of the period in detail, and he would try to get the atmosphere of the local countryside. It was his contribution to country life; he was no killer of foxes or birds, but a restorer as far as it was possible, of the beauties of country life in the past, whether in Great Britain or in India.

After Curzon—the Labour Premier, Ramsay MacDonald. Nearly one hundred years after Palmerston we find a Socialist as Foreign Secretary and Premier; and are his hobbies so different from those of Pam?

Mr. MacDonald, the first Labour Foreign Secretary and Premier of England, was just as much a countryman as any of his predecessors. He may have approached the country from a different financial background, but in the end the same human affection for animals and nature was in all these men. Even when in occupation of 10 Downing Street and bound closely to the centre of London,

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Ramsay MacDonald began each day by getting a glimpse of something as near approaching the country as possible. He walked round St. James's Park before breakfast every morning and when he was in Opposition and living in his own house in Hampstead, he similarly took a morning walk across the Heath. In fact he got such refreshment from the peace and beauty of the country, that when he was a comparatively poor Labour Member of Parliament in the days long before the War, he acquired a small cottage in Buckinghamshire, to which he and his wife used to escape almost every week-end.

Unlike the predecessors I have mentioned, Ramsay MacDonald was not what could be called a sportsman, for he neither shot nor fished nor hunted; but his affection for the country arose from a love of exercise, from the beauty of the country itself and from its traditions and historical associations. At the age of seventy, he could still outwalk many men thirty or forty years younger, and when he was already on in his sixties, he undertook, every year in August, an expedition which gave him particular delight and which kept him out of doors for two days and one night. On the first day, he and his companions would climb Cairn Gorm and descend to the Shelter Stone lying in the hollow between that mountain and its neighbour Ben Muichdhuì; they slept the night under this bare rock and climbed Ben Muichdhuì on the second day.

I know he supported all Movements which favoured the preservation of the countryside and which reserved the rights of the public to enjoy it, and when he arrived at Chequers in 1929, he found close to the house, a delightful copse, full of attractive trees and a great variety

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of wild flowers; but the copse was uncared for. Some of its trees were rotten or had rotten branches slowly sapping the strength of the whole tree; the ivy was creeping up almost all the trunks to throttle them, and had even begun to stretch over the ground as well. With his own hands, he saved the little wood. An axe and a knife were kept lying handy in the house, and when he wanted a breath of fresh air or some physical exercise, the Prime Minister would go out and deal with the copse.

Sometimes, when he was engaged in International Conferences in London, he would get Foreign Delegates to come down to Chequers two hours before lunch on Saturday; then he would say that he would introduce them to England. First he took them to Hampden House and Great Hampden Church where John Hampden lies buried. Then they would go to Chalfont St. Giles to visit the cottage where Milton lived and wrote 'Paradise Regained'; afterwards he took his visitors to Jordans to see the Friends' Meeting House and the site of the early Quaker Community there. The tour would end up at Chequers, the country home of our Prime Ministers, where there are so many historical treasures, especially those connected with Cromwell.

Such was the last man to combine the office of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, and like his predecessors, he was no exception to a series of men who feel they need the peace of nature to sustain them in facing the many cares of State.

That is the sort of thing foreigners like to know about British Statesmen; it seems to show their continuity and also the human side of their existence. It has not been stressed so much in the case of our present Prime

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Minister, but it is just as much there as with the others.

One evening I came into my quiet chambers in Albany, just off Piccadilly. Outside was the roar of buses, and the stop press editions announced the latest risks of war in an unsettled Europe. Inside Albany all was peace and quiet; it seemed as if one was back in the Eighteenth Century. Almost opposite me were the rooms where Macaulay used to live, and on my left were Gladstone's chambers; and a little further down, those of Lord Byron. In front of me, on the table, was a copy of a paper which Mr. Neville Chamberlain had written, about bird life.

After I had read it, I thought of how, in all the bustle of to-day, our Prime Minister had found time to turn to such things and how typical that was of my Eighteenth Century surroundings and our country's traditions. It led me to look more closely into the 'country life side' of our Premier.

Mr. Chamberlain I knew was already forty-nine years old when he went into Parliament in 1918. And in those forty-nine years he had developed hobbies and a background, which no amount of political strife or disillusionment could eradicate. Even in Downing Street the Prime Minister can find time to pursue the oldest hobby of his life, the study of butterflies and moths. He began this study when he was still at a preparatory school, and he continued to increase his collection right up to the time of his marriage in 1911, when he was forty-two years old. He added to this collection, not only by capture, but also by breeding from caterpillars, and he has said that nothing in his life has given him such

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intense pleasure as the capture of certain rare and beautiful moths, when he was at Rugby School.

When Mr. Chamberlain was twenty-one he was sent out in 1890 to his father's estates in the Bahamas, in the West Indies. He remained there for seven years, until 1897; and it is not generally known that there is a butterfly, named after the Prime Minister, called '*Terias Chamberlainii*', which he discovered himself, while in the West Indies.

It was this pursuit which brought him into contact with the late Charles Rothschild, and on more than one occasion, he and Mr. Rothschild made joint expeditions in search of some rarity, for the capture of which they would sally forth after dark and set up a strong lamp or anoint a tree with a mixture of rum and treacle. On one occasion, for this purpose, they visited Cannock Chase, but failed to find the object of their search, which was probably extinct by then. The Prime Minister, however, still has in his collection a specimen of that moth for which they were searching, it was given him as a wedding present by an entomological friend.

Butterflies or moths were his earliest interests, and he only had as a boy, a vague knowledge of bird life. He says that his experience as a young man was almost exactly like that of Sir Edward Grey, afterwards Lord Grey of Falloden, who said that in his young days, he knew only two songs of birds, the robin's and the blackbird's-and-thrush's, which he always wrote with a hyphen, as he could never distinguish between them.

About the age of eighteen, the Prime Minister began to take an interest in the calls and songs of birds. He began to get up at five-thirty in the morning to listen for them

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and to identify them. This was at 'Highbury', his father, Joseph Chamberlain's house, about three miles from the centre of Birmingham. He got up early, mostly in the spring time, before the leaves made it difficult to distinguish birds. He would listen for a call and follow it up till he saw what bird made it. In this way he soon learnt the calls and songs of all common garden birds, even including those young birds, which he found for a long time more puzzling. And in these early morning expeditions, when no one else was about, he was able sometimes to see things which would not have been easy to notice later on in the day. He was reminiscing about it a short while ago, and told a great friend how well he remembered seeing for the first time, a flock of hawfinches, a sandpiper and a pied flycatcher as well as a red squirrel, systematically biting the young shoots of a sycamore. And he added: "Of all the songs I got to know, my favourite was that of the blackcap, and it is still my favourite. It is far superior, in my view, to the garden warbler. It is curious that some people hardly seem to notice the difference. The joyous triplets of the blackcap give an impression of ecstasy, which is entirely lacking in the garden warbler's more subdued meditations."

Having heard what the Prime Minister felt about bird life and knowing from the papers how he longed to get away for some quiet fishing, I wondered if he was ever able to combine the two. His answer was given, on his way back from Chequers for the Opening of Parliament last October. Although suffering from a bad attack of gout, he was glad to switch his mind over to the things he really loves. When he is fishing he keeps his eyes open

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for birds and for beasts and for flowers, even though his mind is principally concentrated on the sport. His surroundings, as he moves from place to place, or casts his fly, are an essential part of his joy in fishing. In his own words he says: "The sound of the curlew by a Scottish river in the spring, the sight of a dipper, bowing from a stone in midstream, a snipe, drumming overhead, above the water meadows; the loose strife and the marsh marigold by the chalk stream, the splendid crimson tiger moth, fluttering among the flowers and grasses, as the fisherman creeps up to within range of the big trout; all these help to make up the fascinations of the angler's holiday."

Such are the interests of our present Prime Minister and he finds time to think of them, no doubt a little wistfully, amidst the cares of his Premiership. But almost every morning he manages to slip out of the garden gate at Downing Street and take his walk, usually accompanied by his wife, in St. James's Park. Here he is always on the look out for the strange song of some unusual bird for the middle of London; and as often as not, he will spot a kestrel, a wheatear, a grey wagtail or even a flock of redwings.

As I thought over this side of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's life, I could not help but remember how well it fits in with the traditions of so many of our great Statesmen. And how it shows him to be one of the most human and understanding of the leaders guiding Europe to-day, a pursuer of peace and certainly never an advocate of war. And however cynical my foreign audiences, they have all come away from my lectures where I have spoken as I have written above, feeling either a little less aggressive

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towards Great Britain, or if they were more friendly coming up to me, as they said, "to thank you for letting us know a side of peaceful British life we have suspected existed and which we too in Europe once had. Thank God it still exists somewhere."

The question is, do we lack modern vitality because we have this spirit still?